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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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BISHOP INTERVIEWED ON CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS, PEACE MOVEMENT

Bonn RHEINISCHER MERKUR/CHRIST UND WELT in German Vol 37 No 37, 10 Sep 82 p 20

['Theology and Church' feature interview with Mecklenburg Bishop Heinrich Rathke by Helmut Matthies: "GDR Churches--Not a Force to Be Dismissed"]

[Text] [Question] You have been Bishop for more than 10 years. What has changed for the Church in the GDR, if one compares the situation in the 1960's with that in the 1980's?

[Answer] Twenty years ago we were able to base ourselves much more strongly on what is frequently called the People's Church. In the meantime we have had to observe the number of Christians becoming very much smaller. On the other hand, another generation has grown up in which we notice that they are asking quite different and new questions about the Church and faith. I also think that in our environment people have come to notice: the Church is more than an outdated institution. It is a force that must be reckoned with. That means a certain respect for people and questioning by people, but also a possibility of being able to do many things in the Church differently and more easily than in earlier times.

[Question] What does that mean concretely?

[Answer] For one thing I am thinking about ecumenical contacts. The facts are that 20 years ago and immediately afterwards meetings almost came to an end. Now we have a lot of intensive Church contacts between East and West and the other way. I also think that the Church's opportunity to live its life on a broad plane and to show what a Christian life means can be grasped. Above all it has become clear among us in the Church that we are not seen as a Church on call, or a Church for which the funeral bells are tolling, but a force which has to be reckoned with for a long time to come.

[Question] Does the government in the GDR see it in the same way?

[Answer] The conversation between the Chairman of the Council of State Erich Honecker and Bishop Albrecht Schoenherr, the then chairman of the Conference of Evangelical Church Directorates in the GDR, on 6 March 1978, naturally had the effect of a signal in our country, even for non-Christians, because an admission was made in public to the Church that it not only has equal rights--that is already in the constitution--but also--and that is important--that it has equal respect. Whether this

"equal respect" is always accorded, that is another question. But I consider it extremely important that it was conceded and is being conceded.

[Question] Has the relationship between State and Church improved continuously since this conversation 4 years ago?

[Answer] I think that when a Church stays with the word of the Bible, regardless of the country, one can never speak of continuity. Anyone who lives from the word of the Bible will always speak in a contemporary way and live accordingly, when he is challenged by the Bible. And we have some of these experiences behind us, mainly in the area of youth education, where we are experiencing difficulties, and recently in the question of peace in particular. I do not consider the problems that we are having here as a catastrophe. I would rather say that they are a test to confirm whether equal rights and equal respect are being taken seriously by both sides in such a way that the individual retains the freedom to speak from his own point of view--that is, Christian faith.

[Question] In concrete terms, that Christians will be allowed to wear the "Swords into Ploughshares" symbol in public?

[Answer] That would be a purely practical question. First of all, I think that this sign and statement of faith is being respected, and, as our State Secretary for Church Affairs has also said, that Christians are able not only to speak to the questions of life in our country from their faith, and that is the Bible, but are also able to behave accordingly. Naturally this can come about in such a way that this phrase from the Bible "Swords into Ploughshares," which was decided upon by the entire Church as the guiding word and symbol for the 10 days of peace and which is being carried out in practice, can, for example, appear in our shop windows. There has been trouble with the State in this regard.

[Question] If you are asked by a young person if he should wear the symbol, what do you say then?

[Answer] Then I ask him if he knows the full meaning of this phrase from the Bible. Quite a number of young people, more out of interest or almost for a little sensationalism, thought they had to wear the sign without knowing anything about this Biblical phrase. I tell them they ought to know where and in what context (Micha 4) it can be found. They also ought to know that their Christian witness will create problems for them. We stand by anyone who affirms the word and the Bible in which it is found. This has happened in many instances.

[Question] Have there been particular problems recently with regard to the wearing of this symbol?

[Answer] To some degree it is known that the wearing of this sign arouses resentment even today. That was justified to the extent that they were imports from the West. They were not needed, because in the last year the sign has been available in large quantities in the GDR through the Church. When it was worn then, there have been and are still difficulties, so that one cannot always speak of equal respect for Christians in this instance.

[Question] Has the relationship between State and Church deteriorated as a result of the peace discussions?

[Answer] It has become evident in discussions with the State that unanimity of opinion does not exist in all questions, and there are naturally tensions. One can speak of an improvement when the Church is taken seriously as a discussant in individual instances. One can speak of a deterioration when it turns out that a Christian suffers disadvantages because of his attitude. It is another question whether this suffering is a deterioration for the faith of the one affected. I for one do not think so. So I can follow the course of events in the future with a certain detachment.

[Question] You frequently visit churches in the FRG. What can we in the FRG as Christians learn from your situation?

[Answer] I would prefer not to give advice, but to invite all Christians in the FRG to visit us, to make our acquaintance by doing so and perhaps draw some conclusions from it.

[Question] The number of visitors from the FRG to the GDR has declined drastically since the increase in the amount of the compulsory exchange. In light of the worsening economic situation in the FRG, many people are naturally having second thoughts about whether they can afford a trip to the GDR.

[Answer] On the basis of some experience in the FRG, I must flatly reject the compulsory DM 25 as the great barrier. If people in the FRG do not make a trip into the GDR because of DM 25, I must regard that as a pretext. Naturally it is not always pleasant to have to change money. I know that from my own experience. We have addressed this problem in our own area.

[Question] The Church against the State?

[Answer] As a Church we brought it up with the government.

[Question] In the FRG there is controversial discussion about whether Erich Honecker should visit the FRG soon or not. What is your opinion?

[Answer] Last year we welcomed the visit of Chancellor Helmut Schmidt to the GDR and we would similarly consider it beneficial if Honecker also visited the FRG and talked to those in positions of responsibility there.

[Question] What should emerge from a meeting like this?

[Answer] It is good simply for people to maintain a discussion with one another. Naturally I hope that human contact at this level leads to increased contact between people in the GDR and the FRG. Other important points for discussion could be world tensions, disarmament and cultural and sports contacts between the GDR and the FRG.

[Question] Would you welcome it if contacts between communities in East and West also increased?

[Answer] Yes, community contacts are desirable.

[Question] Is it conceivable for you that there will again be an all-German Evangelical Church (EKD) in Germany--as there was before 1969?

[Answer] At the moment I see no possibility of that at all and also no need for it, because I think that each Church, under the given circumstances, will have to address the task that it has in its own area. My impression is that this is happening. Church contacts have actually become more intense, more fraternal and closer since 1969 than before the split. This is shown by the joint statements of the EKD and the League of Churches in the GDR on questions of peace.

[Question] Have you given up all hope for a reunification of the two German states?

[Answer] It is my opinion, and so I would prefer not to say anything more concerning it, that if we intensively address the task that we are now addressing, we will be able to and have to ask ourselves the question sooner or later. Today we are here to practice what exists as a link among our Churches as a bridge across frontiers.

9581
CSO: 2300/1

'PAP' INTERVIEWS EDUCATION MINISTER ON 1982-83 SCHOOL YEAR

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 31 Aug 82 p 2

[Interview with Boleslaw Faron, minister of education and upbringing by Danuta Drachal; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] As the new academic year of 1982/1983 opens, Boleslaw Faron, minister of education and upbringing is interviewed by a PAP reporter.

[Question] What will be the primary issues of concern for the school?

[Answer] We will aim to improve our work and thereby to raise the level of our education and upbringing of the children and young people in our care. We will attempt to reach this goal by raising requirements. Past and present decisions will serve this end.

They include: entrance examinations for secondary school, new final examinations significantly raising the value of Polish-language examinations, new principles of promoting and evaluating students, the improvement of study programs, especially humanistic-social subjects (new programs are entering grade five of elementary school), the extension of studies in basic vocational school to 3 years (history is once again being taught in these schools) and the like. The purpose of these measures is, on the one hand, to raise student requirements, and on the other, to ensure that the school and the teachers provide students with a fuller, more comprehensive education.

The entrance exams for secondary schools have not reduced the access of working- and peasant-class youth to these schools, as was feared. The percentage of such young people among those accepted into the first year is no lower than it was previously. Many schools are not filled; there are more places than eighth-grade graduates this year. Thus, every student who has completed the eighth grade has an open road for continued learning.

The education of young people is inseparably linked with upbringing. The general tensions and conflicts that have afflicted the entire country have not bypassed the schools. During the past year, education has faced many difficult problems of upbringing which teachers have had to approach with special discretion and pedagogical maturity.

We wish to assist teachers in this work. With this in mind, the ministry has prepared a program entitled "Major Directions and Tasks of Upbringing Work with Children and Schoolage Youth." When this is confirmed by the Council of Ministers, it will probably become the guidelines of our activity. We would like this to be the basis of more detailed programs of work in voivodships, schools and teachers' groups. This work will make use of the resolutions and recommendations of the recent Ninth Plenum of the PZPR, which was devoted to young people.

We realize that the upbringing of youth is a complex and complicated thing. What we propose is not to be some sort of obligatory canon of acting, for these matters cannot and should not be determined by decrees. They are rather proposals, recommendations. We are counting on teachers to implement them maturely and with social awareness at the service of solid upbringing work.

[Question] How are schooling issues being resolved in the rural areas?

[Answer] We have prepared a program of action in this field. Basic to it is the idea of raising the school's level of work and ensuring rural children a better start in learning. In aspiring to these ends, we will not depart from the idea of the collectivity of gmina schools. We will make only those changes that are indispensable for the school's approach to children, especially the youngest children. During the new academic year we will reopen approimately 190 small branch nursery schools. Another reason for doing this is that even these small centers, in rural areas where they do not exist at present, will fulfill the role of cultural centers.

To better prepare the youngest children for school, we are transforming rural scouting centers into preschool centers. Gradually, they will come to include 5-year-olds as well.

[Question] In light of these tasks, what is the teaching cadre situation?

[Answer] This is presently one of the most important problems of education. We will need many new teachers, for many reasons, including the implementation of provisions of the new Teacher's Charter. These concern, for example, shortening the teacher's work week to 18 hours of compulsory activities. Beginning in 1983, new pension provisions will go into effect, which will probably cause a considerable number of teachers to retire. The number of children of elementary school age is increasing; thus, more teachers will be needed. Higher schools are to increase the number of students they accept for teaching studies, but we will still have a teacher shortage. Rural areas will be particularly affected by this, primarily in the area of elementary education.

Thus, beginning with the new academic year, there will be 42 new postgraduate studies programs for elementary school teachers. After 2 years, they will yield 2,000 graduates who should reinforce our rural schools. In conjunction with the new Teacher's Charter, which fosters an increase in the status of this profession, we also count on the return to schools of teachers who left them to take other positions. The number of these is not large; for example,

Last year approximately 5,000 teachers returned and this year we expect the return of another 5,000. The greatest obstacle to filling teaching positions in rural areas with young, just graduated teachers is the housing shortage. We must keep this in mind.

[Question] With the approach of the new academic year, the Council of Ministers handed down crucial decisions concerning education. What are t ey?

[Answer] While they rendered many decisions, I shall note briefly only the most important ones. An additional sum of 660 million zlotys has been made available to the ministry to bolster investments and the repair of school facilities being implemented throughout Poland. This will enable us to step up many endeavors. Of course, our needs are very great. We have received additional allotments of gas and oil for transportation purposes, to speed up deliveries of new textbooks to schools.

In conjunction with the new Teacher's Charter, wage decisions have been handed down that represent another step toward raising the teacher's average wage to the level of the average wage of engineering-technical personnel. Likewise in accordance with the charter, wage supplements are being introduced for various kinds of activities, overtime hours and the like. New rural teachers will receive a settlement allowance and will be able to make use of bank credit of up to 60,000 or 80,000 zlotys. We believe that these provisions will encourage young teachers to work in rural areas.

[Question] How well are schools prepared for the new academic year?

[Answer] Texts, notebooks and teacher's aids are important. The production plan for textbooks needed for 1 September is for 29 million copies. Due to previous delays, book printing is behind schedule. However, we believe that students will receive them by the end of September. Some children will use textbooks free of charge. In this way, the state wishes to assist you and large families. The scope of this aid will be expanded in coming years. Nor should there be a shortage of notebooks. We are making efforts to supply schools better with the indispensable teacher's aids. However, due to the general situation, the new school year will not be an easy one. We are doing everything we can to moderate the impact that the problems we encounter has on the school. We will make every effort to ensure that this is really so.

8536
CSO: 2600/912

ZSMP LEADER INTERVIEWED ON UNION'S PROGRAMS, INTENTIONS

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish No 31, 12 Sep 82 pp 6, 7

[Interview with Jerzy Jaskiernia, chairman, Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] Main Board, by Maria Kalinska; date and place not specified]

> [Text] The following is the second publication presenting programs and plans of ideological-political youth organizations which are active in secondary schools (see GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI No 29, 29 Aug 82, "Tearing Down Fences"). When starting this series we assumed that a teacher or an educator ought to know the fundamental aims and forms of activity of the youth movement regardless of whether they are personally involved in it or not. After all the movement constitutes an important part of the educational front, therefore, an educator must know what kind of assistance he can count on from the youth organizations.

[Question] Constant change is one of the features of the Polish youth movement. There has been no period as yet in which two generations could link youth memories with a membership in the same youth organization (I am purposefully excluding scouting). So how long have you been in existence and what are the origins of your union?

[Answer] Our union was created in 1976 as a result of the merger of three existing organizations composed for the most part of the working youth: Union of Socialist Youth [ZMS]; Union of Socialist Rural Youth [ZSMW]; and Socialist Union of Military Youth [ZSMW]--these are our direct antecedents. Looking farther back, we refer today to the traditions of the Union of Polish Youth [ZMP], for example, or farther back to the years of the Union of Fighting Youth [ZWM], Youth Organization of the Society of Workers Universities [OM TUR], and even of the Communist Youth Union of Poland [KZMP]. Obviously, each next development phase in the youth movement is not a direct extrapolation, but a certain synthesis of selected experiences. Let me mention, for example, ZSMP Workers Universities drawing from the OM TUR traditions, or the "Youth for Progress" program, which originated in ZMS. However, Confrontations [Konfrontacje] of the Youth Artistic Movement [KRAM], which take place near Nowy Sacz, belong to the ZMW traditions, while the multienvironmentalism of the organization was the characteristic feature of ZMP.

I would rather emphasize, however, the present formula of ZSMP for that is decisive today. Links with the past constitute a means to bring generations together, to create traditions, and to look for allies among those who had been active in the previous organizations.

[Question] It is important for teachers, however. One is a teacher for some 30 or 40 years, and thus the youth of some of the currently working teachers involved activities in the previous organizations. It would be good if they knew that the new organization is in a sense a continuation of their youth...

[Answer] Yes, many of our faculty advisors come from the former ZMS, or even ZMP. Let us return, however, to the present. I wish to note that in the 1970's there was a practice of assigning "environment lots" to various organizations; thus, we had the right to conduct our activities among students only in schools at workplaces and in vocational schools. Only since 1980 legally, and since Đ 81 practically our organization has been allowed to become a full-fledged partner of other organizations in all secondary schools.

[Question] How big is your organization in numbers or members?

[Answer] We have nearly 2 million members, half a million of whom are secondary school students, accepting in our ranks over 31,000 of them in the first half of Đ 82. The growth rate is not very high, but we are in the period of martial law and moral-political dilemmas faced by the youth.

[Question] As an organization you were able to survive August 1980. However, little has been retained except for the name. The Third Extraordinary Congress of the ZSMP in April 1981 turned a new leaf in the life of your union. Let us recall its decisions.

[Answer] On the one hand, the congress strongly emphasized the union's educational functions and its socialist character, and on the other hand, it pointed out the need for effective representation of youth's problems and interests before the state authorities. It also defined the organization as multienvironmental and elevated this feature to one of the organization's major characteristics. Today we believe that the concept accepted in the past of dividing the youth among various organizations separately--working youth, secondary school students, and college youth--was erroneous.

The analysis of the educational process of a young person, his socialization, and introduction into sociopolitical life shows that the high school period is decisive in shaping the activities of the adults. One can conclude, therefore, that an organization which conducts no activity in secondary schools gets cut off from its natural base. This was confirmed by the fact that prior to the Third ZSMP Congress the union was getting old; more often a young person joined the ranks of the ZSMP at the age of 24-25. Therefore, we decided that this organization would carry out activities in the environments exhibiting a social demand for it, schools included. This decision, however, was limited by a qualification that the union could not broaden its influences in an administrative manner. The union's trump cards are independence, self-government and a democratic system of action with

concurrent affirmation of its support for the ideology and program of the PZPR and cooperation with the ZSL [United Peasant Party] and SD [Democratic Party].

The congress also emphasized the idea of partnership of the high school student union members. In addition to the establishment of the necessary workshops and shaping awareness of the need for enforcing the principle, this idea is being realized, among others, by the fact that a high school student occupies the social vice chairman position in the union on various levels including the Main Board and voivodship boards. Councils of School Youth with a consulting and review authority have been created at boards. The councils are composed of high school students. By taking into account specific activities, they directly influence the formulation of work programs in their environments. This shows that the union has broken with the bad tradition of preparing programs for schools without student participation; today, it is their voice only which decides what to do and how to do it. The statute and declaration are their only limitations.

[Question] This sounds very attractive, but how is it in practice?

[Answer] In reality we began the realization of this idea during the 1981-82 school year, that is, in unusually dramatic conditions. We all remember how complex the situation was in the country, among teachers, and the students as well. Nevertheless, we do observe constant growth in the number of school boards, mostly in vocational schools of all types; also, increasing numbers of high school students are joining the ZSMP ranks. Let us not forget that we had been absent for more than 8 years in these schools; the tradition died, teachers did not get involved in the activities of our organization because they did not have an opportunity to come in contact with it.

I believe that the process of our stabilization in this environment will have to take 2 or 3 years. This is connected with the need to overcome certain barriers. The first is the information barrier. We are trying to overcome it by means of various initiatives, for example, by the distribution of PAUZA, published by the Council of School Youth and delivered to all school boards. "Reexamination in History," very popular not only among students, is one of the features in this publication. I wish to emphasize that this example illustrates briefly one direction of our activities; by attempting to wipe out "white spots" in our history through objective explanations we are actually practicing patriotic education and shaping positive attitudes. We have also began publishing GAZETA MLODYCH twice a week; its aim is to report the activities of the lowest units in the organization and in the school organizations. We have also published a primer, "ZSMP in a Postelementary School," in the School Activist Library.

I wish to add that our actions were also motivated by the awareness of the gap between the universally available information, presented by the press, radio, and television, with regard to the activities of the organization's central authorities, and the availability of knowledge about what is happening below, in the circles and boards.

[Question] This unidirectional activity hardly brings the best results. The public creates an image of an activist always speaking in the name of the youth.

[Answer] Yes. And we would like to prevent that; hence certain actions undertaken by us. But, let us return to the barriers we must overcome in the process of our development. The second barrier is the cadre, particularly important in the school environment; we must approach this problem on two levels. On the one hand, one is a student for a short time only; hence the constant need for educating the student aktiv, which continuously and naturally changes. On the other hand, there is a need for actually creating anew a cadre of the organization's faculty advisors, that is, finding educators who would want to work with us and to be connected with our organization.

In general, we believe that much will depend on the attitude of teachers to our union. We have been taking a number of actions in this regard. We have prepared the status of the faculty advisor of our organization at school. This matter had generated many discussions; there were proposals to create full-time positions or offer bonuses for performing this function--these suggestions have had many supporters for a long time. Ultimately, it was concluded that a faculty advisor is an incalculable activity--if one is not a bothead and is not spontaneously involved because of his views and beliefs, a pragmatic approach and full-time positions will help much. Teacher members of the union leadership expressed the same sentiment. Naturally, we will try somehow reward the work of the faculty advisors.

[Question] If I am not mistaken, the preparation of the appointment procedure and of the rights and duties of the faculty advisors constitute only a fragment of your activities in the school environment...

[Answer] Yes. We are trying to help our supporters in schools. We organize voivodship and local meetings to exchange experiences and establish closer links between them and our organization. By answering various touchy questions and providing them with facts from history and the present situation, we supply them with arguments for discussions with the young; we help them this way to build up both their personal and the organization's authority.

During the summer action this year, we organized camps for faculty advisors. The program, prepared jointly with the Institute for Teacher Training [IKN], contained a comprehensive package of necessary knowledge, from the problem of methodology of work and elements of psychology to political information. We wish to invite to such camps all faculty advisors from secondary schools. As can be seen, we do a lot in the area of work with our aktiv. This year, for example, despite great difficulties we were able to organize the biggest summer action for teachers and students. In the camps, thousands of activists from secondary schools debated, exchanged experiences and prepared for work in the coming school year.

[Question] Perhaps, you can briefly state the goals of your organization and the functions it is supposed to perform in school.

[Answer] There are three major functions: ideological-educational; representation of the youth's interests; and organization of free time. The major problem is to maintain a proper balance between them.

The ideological-educational function is obvious, but unusually difficult to perform. Today, in conditions of social conflicts, dilemmas, in other words, of social crisis, it is extremely difficult to do responsible educational work. On the one hand, there is a danger of simplifcations, demagoguery, and replacing persuasion with indoctrination; on the other hand, we are faced with sensationalism, easiness and activities to gain easy acclaim. We are trying to avoid these dangers.

By popularizing existing initiatives, we are trying to create among high school students a sort of a national intellectual movement, containing elements of discussion regarding politics, economics, history, and social sciences. It began with the School Seminars on Polish History; however, we do not want to limit them just to history. There is an initiative to create in schools, particularly high schools, scholarly circles of a sort, which would maintain contacts--whenever possible--with academic and scholarly environments as well as with institutions and ministries. Our entire organization and all of our members active in other environments will be the allies of students and schools. This is an idea which creates conditions for many initiatives.

The second function--representation of youth's interests--is being realized on two planes, in the central, all-union, and local systems.

[Question] Exactly. You are an organization, which in its program assumes performing the function of a spokesman. Currently, when there are no trade unions, this role is of particular significance. What can you offer young teachers?

[Answer] In addition to winning them over for participation in the realization of the union's program, we wish to help them in resolving their important problems and to represent their interests. In terms of structures, the situation differs from one place to another: the existing conditions are not conducive to establishing a union circle everywhere, therefore, we do not formalize these matters. As a rule, it is young teachers who do not have any levels for agreement and cooperation. We are creating such levels for them by organizing meetings at the parish, regional, and voivodship levels. They allow exchanges of views with regard to subjects taught, professional assistance, and common socioexistential difficulties--very often these are simple matters which are easy to solve with friendly assistance from peers. This form of activity gave birth to teacher commissions at the Main Board and at voivodship boards; they have already organized several meetings with deputy ministers and educational authorities in their areas. This created a chance to present problems to people appointed to solve them.

... believe that the most important thing is that we have helped young teachers from various schools to meet with each other. We enabled them to create a framework for their activities: from ball games and solution of existential problems to discussion on the concept of life and problems of educational policy. And it should be remembered that these young people have a lot of enthusiasm, their actions have not become routine yet nd they are not conservative; these characteristics do not always have a chance to be properly presented or recognized in these teachers' schools. This means also presenting them with an opportunity to affect the union's program and establishing a partnership dialog with their students. The course of meetings on various levels of teacher commissions and school youth councils was a surprise for both sides; it was so easy to come to an agreement, after all.

Let us return to the union, though. The third function--organization of free time--constitutes an area of activity which is very popular and considered particularly desirable by the young. I believe that the optimum we can dream about consists of skillful combination of the educational part with play and entertainment. I am talking about overcoming certain stereotypes according to which an educational activity means meetings and training seminars, in other words, boredom, while free time means only relaxation. We have gone back to old and proven forms such as hiking, rides and camping, which can be both merry and interesting. In fact, that is what we did this year during the noncamp summer action. It consisted of all-night "inkpot" rides, meetings and overnight retreats in borrowed tents.

We have suggested another action, which cannot be realized due to the hesitation of the educational authorities. I am talking about Saturdays for the school youth. Our proposal aims at utilizing all available resources in the given area: everything that is available in schools, culture houses, and reading rooms; one school has, for example, a good soccer field, another, a swimming pool, yet another has a large club or reading room, and yet another has a teacher of history or biology who can hold the interest of the young. We propose to join these resources on a Saturday and liquidate the divisions on "this is mine, and you attend another school." Such Saturdays would be conducive to an integration of the school environment and to combining good play with the fulfillment of the didactic and educational tasks of the school. For example, perhaps, a school, which is experienced in organizing educational Olympics--which offer to the winners college admission without entrance examinations--would "infect" other schools with its achievements...

Fultillment of all of these tasks depends--aside from various interorganizational factors--most of all on the shaping of the general social situation in the country. The more stable it is the better will be the climate for conducting educational work. It is also true that the tempo of normalization of certain sociopolitical processes in the country depends on the quality of our action and on what we will achieve in schools.

[Question] Perhaps, you can offer a few words about the representation of the youth's interests. These matters, which are the specialty of ZSMP, somehow slipped away a little.

[Answer] During the Third ZSMP Congress much discussion was focused on the lack of effective mechanisms to represent and defend youth's rights. The resolution of the Seventh Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee is the best example of that: good, but deprived of effective control mechanisms, it became a document good for quotations only. Hence already at the congress an idea was born to create the Committee for Youth Affairs at the Council of Ministers and after a year of discussions and consultations the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee recognized the legitimacy of our initiative. There was a similar situation with the projected bill regarding the youth which will formulate legal guarantees.

Naturally, there is a certain specificity in the representation of the interests of the school youth. It is not as yet a problem of housing or young family; it concerns mainly the teaching process, dormitories, reading rooms, health care, handbooks and the economic situation of their parents.

Last year, jointly with the Council of School Youth, we prepared a comprehensive analysis of the economic situation of school youth. We presented it at the meeting of the executive committee of the ZSMP Main Board attended by Boleslaw Faron, minister of education and upbringing; our demands found some reflection in the timetable of activities scheduled by the Ministry of Education and Upbringing.

We stated in this document that the present system of state social assistance negatively affects peasant and worker youth as well as young people from small towns on their way to high school and college education; for example, the fact that high schools have the smaller number of space in dormitories and the smallest number and lowest scholarships is responsible for the situation in which high schools are attended only by children from homes where there is an educational tradition and which can afford it, particularly now, when costs of education continuously increase. We see the results in the social composition of the young applying for colleges; even on this level the preferrential points given for social background only seemingly help them and the assistance affects only those earlier selected for the benefits.

What we want is for the creators of the assistance program in addition to its material side also to have in mind the social effects of its functioning. This does not always mean bigger expenditures. Much can be changed by, for example, treating the school base not according to ministerial divisions, but according to the needs of the environment. This would permit making dormitories a basis for the youth residing in rented apartments and the young commuting by trains and buses. Now, when the number of the State Motor Transport [PKS] bus runs has been reduced and the waiting time for a bus lengthened, a dormitory would be a place where a student could relax, eat dinner, and do his homework. At the same time the young would be under an educator's care.

[Question] Several times during our conversation the theme of partnership of a student in the organization and in school was touched upon. However, the essence of this partnership is not a pleasant and painless transition through school. It constitutes an important element of social and civil upbringing...

[Answer] The partnership is a consequence of our fundamental goals as an ideological-upbringing organization. We believe that a partnership is the best preparation for a partnership, and the young can learn that as well by sharing the responsibility for the union at school and by participation in its management. We are trying to teach the union members habits which will be very helpful to them later in colleges, if they are admitted, and at work. I wish to emphasize that our aim is to prepare the young for conscious participation in political and social life as well as in self-government.

We do not maintain that this is an easy task. Many high school students respond with an argument: a teacher is a teacher and he always has an "F" up his sleeve. Admittedly, the experiences with the Student Codes are rather negative, but I am against extremism, either full partnership or nothing. I would emphasize a thesis that what is decisive is the prestige of the particular organizations. We have excellent school boards, faculty advisors, and activists, but paper organizations. We will try to popularize good initiatives to continuously reduce the number of weak organizations.

[Question] We have talked a lot about the aims, tasks and forms of work in schools, with students and teachers. We should end our talk perhaps with the formulation of tasks aimed at the entire school environment.

[Answer] I believe that the most important is the problem of the broadly understood attitude toward work and another human being as well as awakening sensitivities to somebody else's problems, and unselfish assistance to others even if it requires certain sacrifices. We have, for example, many school organizations which are in touch with foster homes and maintain patronages over them. We are also concerned by the complex problem of vocational internships at a workplace for students; it has been continously raised, but never resolved. Even with the best intentions the schools will not be able to handle that alone. This leads to another, much broader problem: How to help a school so that the graduates not be lacking the knowledge of those elements of life in a society which are being defined by the economic reform, and thus unprepared for work in the reformed enterprise and for functioning in new social structures. This is another reason why most of our activities in school are based on the principle of students establishing contacts with other environments as well as organizing broad assistance to school by utilizing the fact that the union is multienvironmental: this the way to better prepare students for life.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

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ZSMP MAIN BOARD PLENUM DELIBERATIONS REPORTED

Speeches and Discussion

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 16 Sep 82 pp 1, 3

[Article by Ryszard Naleszkiewicz: "How To Share in Authority"]

[Text] The subject of the Ninth Plenum of the Main Board (ZG) of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP), held on 15 September in Warsaw, was the participation of the young in the organs of the state authority, in all forms of self-government, and in the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON).

In addition to the numerous invited guests from the local and plant echelons of the Union, the meeting, which was conducted by Jerzy Jaskiernia, ZG ZSMP chairman, was attended also by Miroslaw Milewski, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR; Walery Namiotkiewicz, director of the Ideological Department of the Central Committee of the PZPR; Kazimierz Fortuna, director of the Education, Culture and Social Affairs Section of the Supreme Committee of the United Peasant Party (ZSL); and minister Andrzej Ornat, secretary of the Council of Ministers' Committee for Youth Affairs.

The ZG first vice-chairman, Wieslaw Osuchowski, delivered a report on behalf of the ZG Presidium (the theses of the report are published below).

A lively discussion then took place, in which 18 persons took the floor, and three submitted their speeches for the minutes.

It was typical that most of the discussants placed particularly emphasis on the immediate development of methods for selecting and preparing candidates for councilors and deputies who would represent the union in the representative and self-government organs. The particular importance of the Union's participation, even domination, in the movement of the civic committees for national rebirth was stressed. PRON was regarded as the newly emerging structure of the future parliamentary authority. ZSMP representatives must be in it, especially now, in the formative stage. The youth should strive to dominate in this movement, for only in this way will assumption of authority, a change in generations, take place. Below are some of the opinions expressed in the discussions:

[illegible]winski, ZG member (Leszno), stressed the necessity of bringing the matter of the accountability of those responsible for the present crisis to completion. An objective assessment should be made of the moral attitudes of the personages of the Gierek era. A detailed analysis of the causes of the present crisis should also be made, which would make it possible to avoid similar mistakes in the future. The result of martial law should be a national accord, but this will not be easy. Positive changes are visible, but often people who oppose them, people from the previous era, are participating in them.

Tadeusz Rozpara, member of ZG presidium (Belchatow Industrial District), stated the time period of martial law should be taken advantage of to restore public confidence in authority. Mistrust continues to be a fact, and even now it is frequently caused by mistakes of specific people.

In the Citizens' Committees for National Rebirth (OKON), where such an important matter as a front of accord is concerned, all matters, important and less important, should not be tossed into the same basket. The committees now are involved mainly with social-welfare matters, "sowing grass and planting trees" does not enhance authority, particularly since there are appropriate institutions for this. Insofar as this movement is concerned, agreement should be reached on its primary goals. The youth organizations should immediately begin to talk about the future elections to the people's councils and the Sejm [parliament]. We should right now be looking around for our future representatives.

Jerzy Lewandowski, vice-chairman of the Voivodship Board (ZW) of the ZSMP in Koszalin, a councilor, in his speech stressed the need for the ZSMP to work with the young councilors. A lot is being done here but it is still too little. The young councilor frequently does not know the law, the structural interconnections and the jurisdictions of the particular institutions. Often there is even a lack of familiarity with the Constitution. This is alarming, but it is true. This gap in knowledge can be filled by the Union, and it will become useful to the councilor.

Tadeusz Bryja, ZG member (Kety, Biala Podlaska voivodship), stated that there is no alternative to the idea of accord. The events of 31 August proved that some of the youth are politically unprepared, that the problem remains open. ZSMP must participate in all initiatives aimed at stabilization, thus mainly in PRON. In the next elections, the Union should have the right to place candidates on the electoral slate. The speaker expressed hopes vested in the appointment of the Council of Ministers' Committee for Youth Affairs.

Adam Silk, chairman of the City-Gmina OKON in Kolo in the Konin Voivodship, said that the basic purpose of OKON activities should be to draw people out of the "internal emigration", out of their torpor and numbness. If stimulating them to activity occurs through improvement in living conditions, there is nothing wrong with this. In the Konin Voivodship there are over 150 ZSMP members in OKON. Where selection was spontaneous, the committees are functioning. Where this took place on instructions of social organizations, nothing is being done in OKON. The accord front must be the common plane of activity of all Poles. PRON must be something of an "umbrella" over all existing organizations and political forces, over all structures in the country.

Marek Jedlak, ZG member (student from Radoryz, Siedlce Voivodship) stressed the importance and difficulties of ZSMP activities in schools above the elementary level. In order to represent students' interests, the organization must enter into the school self-governments, it must have an important voice in awarding stipends and other services. We want the leadership to ask our opinions, and as long as the organization is being controlled by the leadership it will not be influential. The Union must also take more interest in the school membership in ZSMP.

Tadeusz Luzak, member of the Presidium of the ZG Working Youth Council, ZG member (Ozarow Mazowiecki), acquainted the attendees with the positions of the Working Youth Council on the variants of the economic plan and the pamphlet, "To Whom, How Much, and What For?".

The speaker said that there is too much inconsistency in the government material in relation to the law. For example, state control on some materials is envisaged until the year 1983, there is talk about specifying the length of the workweek, when according to reform this should be settled in the plants. The plan also does not properly consider the matters ensuing from the government program on improvement in job conditions and establishment of a household, as they pertain to youth, and matters ensuing from the documents of the Central Committee's Ninth Plenum.

Many errors have been pointed out in the pamphlet, "To Whom, How Much, and What For?". First of all, the title should read "work, what for, then paid, how much, and finally, to whom". The Council decided that the only acceptable variant is variant number 1, i.e., the one most criticized by the authors of the pamphlet. It is the only variant that is consistent with the documents of economic reform. The other variants conflict with specific laws, and cancel some of the "S"'s [self-dependence, self-financing, self-government] of reform.

Lt Zdzislaw Jaksa, member of the ZG Presidium (Pomeranian Military District) stated that PRON without the young is already today a living corpse. It is to our interest, therefore, to send our best people to the elements of the movement, and they must also be constantly accountable to the organization. ZSMP has many appealing and challenging forms of activity. One of them stems from the last meeting of the Military Council for National Salvation (WRON)--the struggle with evil. That is why we must join the initiative of SZTANDAR MLODYCH in forming youth brigades for the fight against speculation. We must energetically stamp out evil, the black market, and the speculators with white gloves, who are raising prices of their own products in plants.

Mieczyslaw Maksymowicz, member of the PZPR Central Committee, ZSMP activist (private farmer in Sianow Gmina, Koszalin Voivodship) said that no one will assign a place on the country's political map to the young. They must fight for it themselves. We would dream of a Sejm for which we would have to look not for the young, but for the older people as representatives of a generation. These are not unreasonable dreams--there is a precedent for this. But not always a favorable precedent, sometimes the bad displaces the good.

Ireneusz Cholewski, chairman of the Youth School Council of the Warsaw Board, first year student at Warsaw University, said that among the young the OKON's are still

regarded with a great deal of distrust as a system that is artificial and unreliable. The activists in these committees should go to the schools and begin to meet with the youth. This might be persuasive and might stimulate them to become active. It is the same in the student community. More than just the mass media should be employed in talking about this movement.

Jacek Pelczar, member ZG (Krakow), discussed the ZSMP representation in the representative organs. He said that the entry into the Sejm commissions, where the actions originate, is still very difficult. This is important today, when many of the most important decisions, including the law on youth, are going to be made, yet only one session of the voivodship people's council was devoted to these matters.

We must join PRON en masse, as an entire Union.

Marek Matka, Voivodship Board, ZSMP (Tarnow), said that the youth's platform of activity in OKON must be the Central Committee's Ninth Plenum resolution. More of us must go into these committees. The speaker submitted a demand that the ZG form a Youth Patriotic Front of national accord which would coordinate the activities of the young in the committees at the lower levels, give information, and assist materially. In Tarnow a youth OKON at the Voivodship Board was formed which fulfills such functions. It is needed.

Wiktor Nowietkiewicz, director of the Ideological Department of the PZPR Central Committee, said that today complex political processes are developing in the country. The striving for stabilization is felt most strongly of all. People have had enough of excesses and tensions. Most of them want to quietly work. These goals prevail in every plant and in every family. This means that the political troublemakers, who took over the leadership structure of "Solidarity" and pushed it into an abyss, are becoming more and more isolated. People are just beginning to turn away from the political rioters of the so-called underground "Solidarity". The group of active organizers of anti-state occurrences and demonstrations is shrinking--their social base is shrinking.

But as this base shrinks, the determination of the opponent increases, and more and more brutal methods appear. We see this in comparing the events of 3 May, when the number of participants was larger than during the events of 31 August, where although the numbers were smaller, the brutality was greater and so there were more injured, and there were fatalities.

The purposes of these excesses, as seen in the wide-scale propaganda campaign in leaflets and the Western broadcast media, were: to bring about a general strike, to bring about a growing wave of strikes in the country, and to push the workforces en masse into the streets. What was at stake was whether "Solidarity" was to be or not to be. None of these goals was achieved, said the speaker.

The opponent lost the next round on points. But this was not a knockout. The opponent is weakened, but not defeated.

On the other hand, lack of public support for the occurrences and excesses does not signify approval of the activities of our people's authority and the party. This fact only gives us a certain potentiality. The party, after all, is also striving mainly for stabilization and calm. It is necessary, therefore, that both these strivings meet. There is in this a possibility of tightening bonds with society.

whether it will transform itself into real facts will depend on the activity of the entire party, as well as on the youth organizations.

The recent months have opened a new stage in the concretization of the idea of a Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. Let us recall the Sejm's declaration in this matter. The declaration on PRON dated 20 July and the Sejm resolution dated 21 July. But the basic political document here is comrade Jaruzelski's speech in the Sejm on 21 July. What is the result of these documents?

Our party is initiating the formation of a new organization. It is initiating a social plane of dialogue and accord. As in every dialogue, different positions and ideologies may appear. PRON, however, creates a platform for the development of joint opinions while maintaining the differences. "Unity in Diversity."

The favorite accusation from the side of the opponents is that the authority, allegedly, violates the agreements that have been concluded. It is well to recall that the agreements of 1980 were concluded with the workers, as the representatives of society.

Eugeniusz Glowinski, ZG member (Szczecin), said that the young must prepare themselves to assume authority and to use it properly. Activities should be begun to arouse the ambitions of the youth to reach for authority, to take leadership positions on different levels. No only in OKON but in the administration, in the party, and in the state. The speaker argued with comrade Namiotkiewicz's thesis that the majority of society is for calm and against "Solidarity". It is true that the people are working, but they are wearing pins and resistors, and speaking openly about support for "Solidarity". But they are working.

The dialogue being conducted now cannot be one-sided. It cannot be a monologue by the authority to society. We must find ways to conduct a real dialogue.

Miroslaw Milewski, member of the Politburo, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, stated that it is particularly necessary today to not just toss out words, but to validate them by deeds. "Never promise what you are not going to do", said comrade Milewski. He then agreed with the thesis that it is necessary today for the young to reach for authority. The youth organizations should refer their best people for participation in authority. Not the loudest, but the best. The young should be everywhere that the fate of the region or the country is being decided.

The most important task of the entire party today is the establishment of contact with society, especially with the working class. This is matter of activating the entire party, all of its members. The credibility of the slogans and programs will depend on this contact.

The speaker then turned directly to the participants of the plenum: "The future belong to you, because the future belongs to socialism.' It must be strengthened. 'You are already strengthening it in your sectors." Socialism must be built in accordance with the principles of Marxism, taking into consideration everything that is important to the nation, that determines the nation's mentality.

...Ninth PZPR Congress ended, said the speaker, we have been going in two directions. We are going at high speed to all upright people, those supporting the principles of our socialist state. This involves the concept of the patriotic movement of national rebirth. Here we must correct the basis of this concept, not fully cited here: who is not against us, can be with us!

...not must. After the previous experiences we do not want to be fooled again. We want those who after quiet consideration will support the ideas of the Ninth Congress. That platform is for them.

Accord involves all activities on behalf of the consolidation of our state. The struggle for the building of this state, for stability.

The speaker stated that the young comprise approximately 60 percent of the working people. But how many of them will support the organization's program? How many of them will support ZSMP's activities? Such a confrontation may turn out to be a "cold shower". Many are against us, continued the speaker. There are activities in Poland and abroad against your organization. But you must be consistent--to you belongs the victory.

Referring to the disturbances of 31 August, the speaker stressed that there is still another direction coming out of the Ninth Congress' line. It consists of a determined battle with everything that is against the state. With those who would like to...kindly of fire in the middle of Europe. It is true that the youth participated most numerously in the occurrences. But what is this percentage in relation to the entire population? How many youth did not participate? I would not be such a pessimist in this matter, said comrade M. Milewski.

Several of the discussants stressed the importance of accountability. The party also emphasizes this. But the law must be equal for all. We cannot yield to sweeping generalizations that anyone who at one time was in a management position was a crook or a scoundrel. An accounting will certainly be made, but it cannot be done hastily.

The speaker mentioned the example of comrade Gomulka. How many difficult moments he endured, how many accusations. Now the truth is coming out and it is not a whitewash.

The representatives of the highest authorities who are responsible for the crisis must be charged by the highest echelon -- the Sejm. We must act calmly. The young, too, should be concerned with justice. Sometime you decide, and will decide, continued the speaker. Today we must act in such a way that someday you can, and you will have to, be accountable for what we are deciding now.

You ask why is there still no draft of an electoral law. Everything in its time. First we must collect opinions on the concept of people's councils and territorial self-government.

Many tasks await us. One of the most difficult is a law on trade unions which would represent the interests of the working people, and not be compromising to [illegible].

A great commitment by youth is needed. It appears that your organization knows what it wants. You are capable of polishing out the rough spots in our reality, of weeding out the evil.

Work actively in behalf of the ideals of socialism, said the speaker in conclusion. Consistent implementation of these ideals will ensure success.

On this, the discussion was ended.

Next, Kazimierz Chrzanowski, chairman of the Resolutions Committee, read an amended draft of a resolution which the Plenum unanimously passed. (We will publish the text in the next issue.)

The deliberations were summarized by the ZG chairman, Jerzy Jaskiernia.

He stated that most of the attention today should be given to implementing the resolution of the PZPR Central Committee Ninth Plenum, that the Union must be more aggressiveness on this. Much has happened for the youth movement in recent months. The demand of the ZSMP Third Congress has been implemented, a Council of Ministers' Committee for Youth Affairs has been appointed. The government passed a resolution in June on a program regarding assistance to youth in establishing a household and vocational aid. Concepts of cooperation among youth organizations are emerging.

It is important that ZSMP enter into the schools and colleges. The Union is in 44 colleges now, but it must be in all of them.

Today we spoke of the participation of the youth in authority. We have done a great deal. Groups of young councilors are active, and a year ago we formed a group of young deputies, which is active. We must begin immediately to prepare for elections at all levels. It is not too early. There are too few ZSMP members in the OKON movement, despite their activeness. We must broaden our base there, a social base for the authorities and the party. Our people are often taken into OKON through a telephone call--give us a member! Should we not change these habits? We must move with the times.

There are almost two million of us in the Union. But the number does not indicate its strength, it does not create strength. There is no strength from passive members, concluded the chairman.

The Plenum deliberations were closed with the singing of the ZSMP hymn.

Theses of Presidium Report

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 16 Sep 82 p 3

[Text] The political underground continues to inflame the situation in the country, using the young. ZSMP experience shows that barricades and strikes are not necessary in order to effectively fight for a just Poland and for the interests of the youth. Recently the organization has often had to make political choices--today the situation has become more transparent than before 13 December of last year. The anti-establishments underground groups have placed themselves outside the pale of society. It is not emergence from the crisis that concerns them.

We place our hopes in the forces which initiated the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. The idea of accord is open to the young, to the members of the Union. This idea is directed at saving the Fatherland.

The young have asked questions pertaining to the PRON movement: Is PRON supposed to be a substitute for territorial self-government, or a plane of understanding for different forces and social groupings? Will it be a consultant to the authorities, or will it be their controller, or inspirer? Will it have some kind of authoritative powers? These questions have to be answered.

PRON is a chance at putting immediate matters into order, matters of living conditions, and that is being done. At the same time, however, the young expect that through PRON they will obtain an influence on policy.

There are still too few positive changes in the activities of an authority that is overgrown with bureaucracy, one which frequently ignores social control, is unconcerned, too sure of itself. The OKON activists condemn this. The PRON program will win over the youth when it becomes a program of struggle for social justice and law and order.

PRON creates a chance for perfecting the institution of a political system, democratization, democratic forms. What is needed here are measures aimed at revitalizing forms of direct democracy with active participation of the young. Development of social self-government is needed in all centers of life, work and learning. The participation of the young in leadership and control must be expanded, and they must be more widely included in the activities of political institutions and organizations.

We must strive to uplift the authority, position and importance of the representative body of the Sejm and the people's councils. Unfortunately, the elements and echelons of the Union do not always take advantage of the ability to co-manage in matters of youth. Cooperation and work with young councilors at all levels must be increased. We must assist them in gaining skills and knowledge necessary to perform their representative functions.

The Union should strive to organize the youth around the resolutions and decisions of the representative organs, around the resolutions which implement our demands. We have 31 deputies up to age 35. Young councilors comprise 23.5 percent of the Voivodship People's Councils, and on the basic level 18 percent are up to age 30. The majority of the young deputies work in the Group at the ZG ZSMP, are in contact with the echelons, and take up our problems. We are not satisfied, however, with the very slight working contact with the Sejm commissions.

In the report very high marks were given to the already proven formula of activity by groups of young councilors at various levels. They provide inspiration and coordination for the young at the council level, and communication with ZSMP echelons. They make it possible for the organization to influence the decisions of the council.

The reasons for the decline in activeness of the young councilors are mainly a lack of satisfactory results in the matters they undertake and the general decline in the prestige and importance of the people's councils. The ZG's comments on the draft

law on people's councils and territorial self-government have already been sent to the group which is editing the text of the law. The councils should be provided instruments of direct control, guarantees that the councilor can act effectively.

In the report the preparation of the organization for participation in an election campaign to the representative organs was regarded as an important task. We are in favor of modifying the changes in the rules for selecting candidates and electing the representatives of society to the organs of authority. A socio-occupational representation is needed, and people with a large reserve of knowledge. That is why we must prepare ourselves for this now, to recommend those who are the best.

One of the basic elements of economic reform is workers' self-government. The process of creating self-governments which had been started was halted by the declaration of martial law. Last year, "Solidarity" outvoted the self-government elements, and took over their functions. The present lack of elements in the union movement may be an opportunity to form self-governments on the basis of actual assessments and needs of the workforces. Plant organizations must take immediate steps to form self-governments in those places where no one is eager to reactivate them or form new ones.

We must carefully select our candidates to the self-governments, so that they will be acceptable to the workforces. These must be specialists, of unimpeachable professional and social reputation. They do not have to come out of our organization, if they accept our program as their own and will represent it.

In the electoral fight for self-governments, we should raise the problems which must be solved for the entire workforce, not just for the young part of it.

It is not true that our plant organizations have been engulfed by torpor, that they are not able to undertake active and constructive actions. Denial of this can only be achieved through the action of the entire Union. We will prove that in calling ourselves a political organization, we really are such an organization.

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SCOUT INSTRUCTOR QUALITIES DISCUSSED; COUNCIL DEVIATIONS NOTED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 29 Jul 82 p 5

[Article by Wieslawa Mazur: "A Scout Instructor Must Know More"]

[Text] A heated atmosphere characterized the ninth plenum of ZHP [Polish Scout Union] authorities, which were dedicated to the complex problems of the instructor cadre. To tell the truth, the deliberations on that subject had the nature of a "day after the fair," because just as they were taking place, cubs and scouts were pitching tents and lighting camp fires from the Hel Peninsula to the Tatra Mountains under instructor supervision.

We have about 110,000 scout instructors in the country, of whom about 3,000 are in regular posts. It is easier to get instructors in large centers although, as has been said, they are not battering down the doors. Be that as it may, it is still necessary to detect and eliminate instructor deficiencies.

It is no secret that frequently preparations for performing the exceptionally responsible function of a youth counsellor are inadequate. The deputy commander-in-chief of the ZHP, Scoutmaster Ryszard Wosinski, decisively declared that a scout instructor today must know more in order to properly guide his charges' footsteps.

Events of recent years and months have demonstrated that there are serious gaps in the system of upbringing. It is difficult not to also lay part of the blame for these shortcomings on the massive organization that scouting is today.

Between Upbringing and Policy

The A. Malkowski Circles of Scout Instructors (KIHAM) Agreement Council was dissolved by a majority vote. Why did conference participants decide to do that? According to explanations by the director of the department of instruction at headquarters, P. Babij, the council flagrantly violated the union's statutes.

The Seventh ZHP Congress created the possibility for instructors with similar hobbies and interests to join programmatic-methodical movements. They were to constitute an avenue for the exchange of experiences and the dissemination of initiatives without, it is clear, disturbing the principles of the union's rules and regulations. The KIHAM Agreement Council's regulations were confirmed in

June of last year. KIHAM circles encompassed and encompass--inasmuch as they continue in existence--about 300 instructors.

Immediately after its confirmation, the KIHAM Agreement Council, the movement's central management organ, made a series of decisions and undertook activities that were inconsistent with regulations that, among other things, were formulated in documents adopted last fall in Wroclaw and Krakow.

According to ZHP activists, the council was driving the KIHAM movement into an opposition trend, linking itself with forces whose ideology is incompatible with the union's principles, and by doing this was placing youth and inexperienced instructors in a position of conflict with the basic assumptions that are obligatory in the ZHP. In effect, that threatened the organization's unity.

Thus, for example, the council did not accept the wording of the oath and proposed several variants of it, and although no one spoke out about it and does not speak of it, the word "socialism" was carefully omitted from each of them. In the opinion of scout P. Babij and others, a uniform oath is decisive for the unity of scouting. However, in his opinion, in contrast to the KIHAM "headquarters" (Andrzej Malkowski was active from 1910 to 1911 and managed to transpose the English scout idea onto Polish territory, hence the name), scouts can be proud of many achievements. Among other things, they took part in lively fashion in the current methodical program of union changes.

It is worth adding that KIHAM instructors frequently were not conversant with what the council intended to do or where it was going. It was headed toward a clear policy while simultaneously announcing these about nonpolitical upbringing and "playing scouting." In the meantime, as was emphasized in the discussion by Scoutmaster R. Wosinski, a nonpolitical youth organization simply cannot exist. He said: "If it is considered that instructors must be responsible for something more than scouts, than that would be primarily in the sphere of ideas. One clause of our moral codes says: 'A scout is just, brave and courageously defends a just cause.' It is, however, necessary to understand clearly what kind of just cause is involved, because we are faithful to the cause of socialism, which promotes social order in our fatherland. To avoid this problem is simply to hide one's head in the sand...."

As in the Family

Everyone at a scout camp is well acquainted with everyone else, as in a family. This atmosphere of openness and trust facilitates the most effective upbringing measures. Assuredly, heated talks are taking place under the tents at this moment.

With so many problems, dilemmas and doubts rankling conference participants themselves, they wondered how to act toward the troop or patrol. They came to the conclusion that the basic thing is the attitude of the 'youth' instructor, which like a sensitive compass detects all falsehood. An instructor's attitude and conduct must be identical to his convictions.

An instructor does not operate privately, in his own name, but in the name of the organization. He is the leader of a group, a social activist. Thus, he

has an obligation to present unequivocal attitudes that induce the young to serve their country.

However, an instructor cannot be alone, he needs to be helped. Not less than 70 percent of the instructor cadre is drawn from the teaching community. Despite appearances, this should not be recorded as an absolute plus. Some of the teachers took on the added responsibility of conforming to school authority decisions. It is not unusual, therefore, that they acted without enthusiasm on behalf of scouting and when it was convenient for them, began to leave the ranks. Others, without adequate training, conduct troops by methods resembling those of the school, but in turn do not arouse the enthusiasm of youth. but it cannot be concealed that actually the instructur cadre in scouting is the most valuable cadre. There are instructors from other groups, as if for administering medicine, although during the past year, in conjunction with the return of social confidence in the organization, substantial numbers of persons from other professions have been indicating their interest in social work as never before.

An instructor must have time at his disposal; consequently, the functions are undertaken either by young people of upper class secondary school age level, students or those who have already managed to raise their own children. They, as well as teachers, can fulfill the role of scout counsellors only when their enthusiasm is supported by additional knowledge. Self-education has and continues to play an enormous role. However, that is not enough today.

For the First Time in History

It turned out that the Central School of Scout Instructors, which has been in existence since 1975, and the Central School of Cub Instructors are not sufficient. Beginning in August, the Central School of Senior Scout Instructors in Perkoz, near Olsztyn, will begin operations, and another establishment will be created in 1983. Courses of 2 or 3 weeks duration for the leadership cadre are being organized in schools.

With respect to scout news; it was decided for the first time in the history of the union to establish a scholarship fund whose purpose would be to make possible a periodic withdrawal from professional work (including payless furloughs) for a period from 3 months to 1 year for instructors who distinguish themselves, to allow them to dedicate their time and efforts to the organization.

The honorary title of Senior ZHP Instructor was also established. The title is merited by those who work on behalf of the ZHP not less than 25 years and manage to attain exceptional upbringing results.

10433
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PROFESSOR INTERVIEWED ON SOCIOLOGY OF SPORT

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 27 Aug 82 p 8

[Interview with Prof Zbigniew Krawczyk, chairman of the department of Philosophy and Sociology of the Academy of Physical Education [AWF] in Warsaw, by Andrzej Pac-Pomarnacki; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] At the 10th International Congress of Sociology, which ended a few days ago in Mexico, you participated as a member of the International Committee on the Sociology of Sport. How long has this committee existed?

[Answer] The International Committee on the Sociology of Sport was formed in 1965, on the initiative of Poland, among other countries, and has been functioning within the International Sociological Society along with 37 other committees. The committee is also a member of the International Council on Sport and Physical Education [ICSPE-CIEPS]. Such a position of the committee is very advantageous for it assures direct contact with world sociology as well as the theory and practice of sport.

[Question] The formation of the committee and its affiliation with the International Sociological Society attests to its separate identity and the strengthening of the sociology of sport as a distinct discipline.

[Answer] Sociology of sport began to emerge and take on a separate identity somewhere in the second half of the 1950's. It was a phenomenon in accord with trends in sociology at that time, for in sociology we are dealing with the parallel development of methodology and existence of "specific sociologies." In my report to the congress I dealt with just such relationships. If in sociology of sport we can identify such fields as the sociotechnology of sport, sociological theory of the organization of sport and sociology of sport as an element of culture, of free time, and, furthermore, if there exist specific theoretical and methodological issues dealing with sport as a sociological phenomenon, then it would seem that to effectively practice the sociology of sport, contact with a majority of specific sociologies is indispensable. The needs of microsociological analysis as well as general sociological theories require it.

[Question] What main topics did the discussion of the sociologists of sport center around at the congress?

[Answer] We had hoped that our deliberations would tie in with the main theme of the congress, i.e., sociological theory (in our case, of sport) and its application in the society. However, as the reality of these large gatherings indicates, not for the first time, their participants submit to discipline only with difficulty and talk about their current research and accomplishments with the greatest eagerness. Thus, in Mexico, the specific objectives were not fully achieved. Generally, it can be said that such big issues as the functioning of sport within the framework of a societal system and the cooperation between systems (it applies particularly to Olympic sports) were in the background). We witnessed presentations of mostly theoretical analyses and empirical research limited by the range of the microstructure. These presentations dealt with issues associated with the role of sport in educational and socialization processes of children and youth and with the interrelation of sport and lifestyles of various social groups, i.e., participation in internal issues of sport during free time. A few reports dealt with internal issues of competitive, record-seeking sport roles played by competitive sportsmen, the professionalization of sport achievements and so on.

[Question] Such a representative forum as a world congress creates a good opportunity for the evaluation of one's own worth against that of world science. How do Polish accomplishments in the field of sociology of sport compare with those of other countries?

[Answer] The 10th International Congress of Sociology confirmed our belief that the accomplishments of Polish sociology of sport can be ranked with the leading achievements of the United States, Canada, the FRG and the Soviet Union or, as we say in sport, are among the leaders. Polish accomplishments in research on the interrelation of sport and culture, of a model of life for various groups of the society or last but not least in an area of issues dealing with socialization and educational roles of sport are particularly noteworthy.

9949
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ITALIAN DAILY INTERVIEW WITH TRADE UNION AFFAIRS MINISTER CIOSEK

Rome IL TEMPO in Italian 12 Sep 82 pp 1, 21

[Interview with Minister of Trade Union Affairs Stanislaw Ciosek by Special Correspondent Franco Venturini; date and place not specified.]

[Text] Warsaw, 11 September--"We have placed Lech Walesa in a position where he can't do any harm--and by the same token, unfortunately, where he can't help us either," says Stanislaw Ciosek, minister of trade union affairs in the administration headed by General-Premier Jaruzelski, who sums up in the following affirmation (which is tinged with bitterness) the impasse in which the government has found itself ever since the serious incidents of 31 August demonstrated to the martial law authorities the failure of their attempt to reconquer Polish society by means of a policy of attrition. Ciosek implicitly admits that the blind alley of merciless repression is just around the corner. Moreover, the disappointment over the unsuccessful effort to convert Walesa--who continues to reject every form of collaboration after 9 months of "privileged" internment--is becoming even more intense now that a sudden hardening of attitude toward the clandestine union is being manifested within the regime. The initiative is in danger of passing to the "intransigents"--a faction with which Ciosek has not been associated since the time (previous to 13 December) when he held the same position he holds today and was the principal interlocutor of Walesa and Solidarity. To stay in the saddle, however, it is necessary to hew to the line that is currently in favor, and Ciosek accordingly confirms in the following interview the possibility that Solidarity will be outlawed; brands the leaders of the former free trade union as dangerous "extremists"; and supplies the first high-level governmental indications as to what the new "independent" union should be.

[Question] Mr Minister, following the occupation of the Polish embassy in Berne we witnessed a wave of accusations against the "extremists of Solidarity," who had established close ties with the terrorists. Who are they, these "extremists"?

[Answer] They are the leaders of Solidarity. The union--or, I should say, the movement, the political party--had 9 million followers, a majority of the Polish labor force. This rank and file, however, had been encouraged by illusions--by hopes that were dashed precisely by its own leaders and advisers,

who had transformed the union into an instrument of political opposition: opposition not in the sense that the term has in the system of bourgeois democracy but rather in the sense of opposition to the state. The very existence of the state was threatened. Take the principal economic adviser, Gurowski, for example: he was promising a 50 percent increase in the national income within 3 years. It was pure fantasy; the government was blamed for every ill, and so if it were overthrown everything would be resolved. We had made many mistakes, to be sure; but we couldn't promise the people the moon.

[Question] Does that mean that the interned leaders are all regarded as "extremists"--and that all of them are the targets of these current attacks: Walesa and Mazowiecki, and Jurczyk and Rulewski as well?

[Answer] Look, if you were the president of a movement and knew that a catastrophe could result from the decisions that are taken at certain meetings, would you leave the room to smoke your pipe and evade your responsibilities? That's what Walesa did. If you're on the mountaintop you must not dislodge the rock that might start an avalanche. No, you can't deal in percentages; the Rulewskis are the same as all the others.

[Question] Then are we headed toward the delegalization of Solidarity, also as a result of the Berne incident?

[Answer] It's not a legal problem. The 31 August incident, the Berne incident: these events should not have an influence on the future trade union but do cast a shadow over Solidarity. Bear in mind that Solidarity had a place in the people's consciousness for three reasons: because it promised a better life; because it restored dignity to individuals by making them the subjects, rather than the objects, of political activity; and because it had an organization: it was a way of standing together. We can outlaw the organization--that's no problem--but we must also take into account the other two aspects, and this is much more difficult. We have a realistic program for resolving the crisis--a program of sacrifices. How can we obtain a consensus, though? We hope that the people will understand that there are no miracles in the field of economics.

[Question] And you hope to obtain that consensus by outlawing Solidarity?

[Answer] I repeat: there is the possibility of declaring Solidarity illegal, and no longer merely "suspect." We realize, however, that the government must deal with the social phenomenon of Solidarity--a phenomenon that needs to be studied and understood. Perhaps one day we shall succeed in doing so.

[Question] You are relying on the new trade union to achieve this objective; but don't you believe that the people will regard this union as a deception, and that they will continue to fight for the Gdansk agreements?

[Answer] No; it will not be a deception. A trade union law will probably be approved this fall; it will be the formal product of many discussions in the Council of State, but there are now a number of new government proposals that will probably be ratified by the parliament. Let me outline the main points

of the bill. There will be the right to strike, but a strike would have to be truly inevitable. I should like to say that we envision a system of compulsory negotiation and mediation that no one will be able to refuse. Only after that could a strike be carried out. May I remind you that strikes used to be staged here in Poland even for trivial reasons? This will no longer be possible. There will subsequently be independence from state administration, together with self-management. The obligation to respect the law will also be stipulated, together with the leadership role of the party. Jurisdictions will be very broad; the most recent draft of the bill has broadened them substantially. Lastly, as to the structure: the union will be organized on the basis of vocational categories and will defend vocational interests rather than political interests.

[Question] You cannot deny that this bill is more advanced than those in effect in the other countries of the East, but it seems to me that this amounts to a gigantic step backward. Solidarity derived its strength precisely from its regional and national structure, and incorporated all categories. Under your bill, for example, a general strike is technically not feasible. Do you really believe that the workers will lend their cooperation?

[Answer] Look: what is needed here is plain talk. Solidarity grew out of a formula, a suicidal formula; it wanted to be the contractual partner not of the government but of the state. We shall not go back to that concept; that is out of the question. The independence of the union will exist within the framework of socialist law.

[Question] And how long will Lech Walesa have to pay for his violations of this law? Have you remained in contact with him?

[Answer] There are no negotiations in progress with Mr Walesa (during the interview, Ciosek always referred to him as "Pan Walesa"--Mr Walesa--in contrast to his references to the other representatives of Solidarity, who are identified only by their family names--Editor's Note); I last spoke with him in February. There have been subsequent contacts with him by my associates, but these contacts have dealt with organizational and protocol matters, as for example when a Red Cross delegation went to visit him. Mr Walesa enjoys special privileges; he is treated as a guest whom we have to keep in isolation. He is well informed; he knows what is going on, sees his family, and receives visits from priests. Do you wish to know if he will have a role in the future of the trade union? That will depend on him; if he has an understanding of the current circumstances it might happen. Our philosophy is that whoever is not against us is with us.

[Question] But if I am not mistaken, Walesa is still against you.

[Answer] Look, there are four different images that can be applied to Mr Walesa. The first is the one created by Western propaganda--a disproportionate image of a hero; the second is the one that is rooted in the consciousness of many Poles--the symbol of the August of Gdansk and Solidarity; the third is the one on a true scale--his authentic personality of a normal worker; and the fourth is the one suggested by his advisers, by those who were manipulating

him. I shall not say which one I believe is the real image, because he is presently unable to respond to me--but you can draw your own conclusions.

[Question] And yet, Mr Minister, after 9 months of martial law you have not even been able to extract from Walesa an expression of compromise, let alone an expression of goodwill. Doesn't it seem to you that this does in fact provide concrete support for the thesis of Image No One, in which you clearly do not believe?

[Answer] But are we to believe that in the evening Polish families talk about freedom for Mr Walesa, or are we to believe that they talk about prices? I say to you that what they talk about is the fact that the standard of living of the Poles has gone down by 25 percent--a catastrophe. No, Mr Walesa is not our Messiah, and today he is not a credible interlocutor. We shall speak our minds in the trade union law about which I have spoken to you, and he can think it over and speak his mind. Today--neutralized politically by his internment--Mr Walesa can't hurt us, and, unfortunately, can't help us either.

[Question] By surrendering, perhaps?

[Answer] You are continuing to think in terms of the "heroic" image. If Mr Walesa had the magic wand for solving Poland's problems, he would be in power. Instead, the people must awake from their rosy dream and confront reality. If we are keeping you journalists from seeing Mr Walesa--as we did even with a delegation from the American Congress--it is not because we are afraid of what he might say to them.

[Question] Excuse me, but that is precisely the impression you are giving.

[Answer] What more can happen that we haven't already experienced in this regard? Could Mr Walesa possibly say anything worse than what the Western radio stations and the "Voice of America" are saying every day? If Mr Walesa had wanted to say something he would have done so; we do not search the priests who frequently go to meet with him, nor do we search his wife. The fact is that there are no alternatives to what we are doing--to our program. What is it that those who rioted on 31 August are proposing to the Poles? Strife. We are trying to be more constructive. We naturally do not expect that there will be any demonstrations in favor of the government. Those who part company from the activists will not be joining us; they will simply become neutral moderates.

[Question] Apropos of moderation: Archbishop Glemp said on the day after the events of 31 August that it did not help the situation to throw stones, but you unleashed a strong attack on the Church in the government newspaper....

[Answer] No; that's not correct. It wasn't an attack on the Church; it was a reply to Bishop Tokarczuk, a reply to what he had said. We are not making war on the Church, even if different orientations do exist within the Church. If they attack us, however, we shall defend ourselves--we shall continue to defend ourselves.

[Question] If I may say so, it was a very aggressive defense. However, since things are going well with regard to the Church as a whole, when shall we know the date of the Pope's visit to Poland?

[Answer] One must be reasonable; here in Poland we have martial law. And if we are reasonable, we will realize that this trip could bring more problems for the Pope than for the government.

[Question] But Jaruzelski had promised an end to martial law this year. Is this still a real possibility?

[Answer] Yes, the possibility exists--and also the hope. Just tell me, though, who will be the courageous man who is capable of making a decision that could entail new losses of life, new bloodshed. It is a dangerous situation; the clandestine elements promise more disorder. Then after the fighting you will send us packages of medicine. No, we don't want that, and it is too soon to talk about it.

PHOTO CAPTION

1. p 21. Minister Ciosek, conferring with Walesa in March 1981.

10992
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EXPERIENCE OF COUNTY PARTY ORGANS IN ATHEISTIC EDUCATION

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Aug 82 pp 27-29

[Unsigned article]

[Text] The enhanced qualitative standard in steering materialistic-scientific education by party organs and organizations acquires outstanding topical importance if we consider that by pointing out the big shortcomings in the ideological, political and educational activity, the party secretary general called attention -- in his Report to the Enlarged Plenary Session of the Central Committee held on 1-2 June this year -- to the fact that these bodies, by making intensive use of the advances of science, of materialistic-dialectical and historical philosophy, must conduct a sustained work of equipping the communists, the other people with the scientific outlook on the world, society, and the laws that govern the universe. Moreover, the systematic conduct by the party organs and organizations of the political-educational activity of shaping and developing in communists and the other working people firm atheistic beliefs and attitudes provides the guarantee for obtaining significant results in this field. The action of political guidance in this important educational project has many facets.

Informed Approach. Obvious is the concern of some county party organs and organizations for organizing the activity of materialistic-scientific education on the sound basis of knowledge of the size and intensity of the religious phenomenon in the territory which falls under their powers and responsibilities, resulting from thoroughly planned surveys and studies, some with a profound sociological character. Such a "radiograph" -- capable of pinpointing the chief shifts and trends in religiosity in various social environments, its characteristics in the various localities, socio-professional and age categories -- provides a scientific basis for differentiating atheistic propaganda and the cultural-educational programs according to the specific situations in various areas.

Consequently, the Suceava County Party Committee drew activists of the county office for ideological and political-educational activity, educational workers and students of the Suceava Higher Learning Institute, and other experts who, in teams, conducted sociological surveys on the religious phenomenon and the way in which the educational potential is used for the materialistic-scientific development of people and the combating of mystical manifestations in the Dumbraveni, Ipotesti and Vicovu de Sus communes. The results obtained were the topics of an exchange of experience within the framework of the discussion on materialistic-scientific education. Attending were county educational officials, assistant secretaries in charge of propaganda affairs, heads of houses of culture and workers' clubs. The conclusions that

resulted are being put to good use, helping to optimalize the political-educational projects undertaken in the localities involved and in other places.

Aware as it is of the fact that the great majority of adepts of religious sects reside in localities in the northern part of the county and also around the urban centers of Botosani and Dorohoi, the Botosani County Party Committee worked out a special program of political-ideological and cultural-educational activity for these areas. The Iasi County Party Committee -- which has for several years now been promoting a multidisciplinary system of studying economic, political, social and cultural processes and phenomena zonally -- integrates into this system the efforts to investigate the facets of religiosity, coordinated at county level by a special commission and supported by research nuclei created within each locality and headed by secretaries, respectively by assistant secretaries in charge of propaganda affairs.

The success of the projects undertaken hinges considerably on the continuous enhancement of the competence of the workers in this field. Of course, in this area, in the first place, the members of the groups of propagandists of county, municipal and town party organs, the other party workers with educational assignments, naturally, here including the members of all party organs, must thoroughly be conversant with the essential ingredients of the religious phenomenon: the history of denominations, the contents of the chief concepts of these denominations, their theoretical and ideological contradictions, the forms donned today by the attempts to tailor the religious dogmas to the evident economic, social, cultural and scientific changes in our era, the actual objective and subjective motivations of the perpetuation in the socialist society of obscurantist, mystical and other religious concepts and rituals, so that they may actually work on an informed basis, efficiently in the area of atheistic propaganda.

For instance, as part of the training programs for the party active, mass and civic organizations and propagandists, in Neamt County, symposia and special discussions are periodically organized on issues such as: causes of the persistence of the religious phenomenon in the socialist society; our party and state's posture on religion and the church, on the freedom of conscience; materiality of the world corroborated by the new discoveries of modern science; man and the problems of socioeconomic development; the technical-scientific revolution and its sociohuman implications, and so forth, which undoubtedly help to equip the workers involved in atheistic propaganda with absolutely necessary knowledge.

Greater Concern for Secularizing Customs, Traditions. In Suceava County, as a result of greater concern for appointing marriage centers in all the eight towns and in many communes and offices for materialistic-scientific education in some communes and villages and in consequence of reorientation of the contents of some traditional folkloric events, secularization was achieved in terms of important episodes in citizens' lives, practices tied to winter holidays (through "customs' decade" organized annually in villages, communes, towns and county) and to some dedication days (by the organization of "cultural-scientific and sporting Sundays," get-togethers with the village sons, outdoor festivals, and so on). Moreover, as a result of the events initiated and arranged by the organizations of the party and Union of Communist Youth, by young pioneers and scouts of the country, in conjunction with the leading bodies of schools (parties, entertaining events, contests such as guess games with awards on scientific and cultural topics, symposia, trips and the like), many youngsters from families that belong to Neo-Protestant denominations were kept away from

their events (in Vicovu de Sus, Dumbraveni, Patrauti, Veresti, Balcauti, Ipotesti, Arbore and other communes) and became active participants on the cultural and educational scene in the schools and localities involved.

Positive results in the area of secularizing some holidays and traditions were also obtained in various zones of Botosani County. At least three such events proved their effectiveness: the folkloric festivals "Vorona Forest Feasts" (8 September), "Siret Songs" (23 April) and "Golden Field," which are instrumental in keeping away people, specifically youngsters, from the influence of religious rituals involved in the celebration of worship centers.

Even though in some counties good experience was obtained -- as pointed out above -- in terms of capitalizing on the lay significance of some local folk traditions, however, too little is being done to use it on an overall scale and on a firm basis, to establish some lay rituals that mark important episodes in people's lives: giving of the name, birth anniversaries, coming of age, marriage, starting of a job, retirement, and so forth.

Shortcomings That Must Be Eliminated. Surveys, inquiries and spot-checks recently conducted by the party leadership show that in the area of atheistic materialistic-scientific education party organs and organizations still have work to do to bring this activity to the level of actual requirements called for by life, by the lofty political and ideological needs for building a multilaterally developed socialist society in our country. There still are party organizations that do not directly conduct the activity of materialistic-scientific education of communists and the other working people, that do not periodically analyze the manner in which the parties and institutions with educational duties conduct this work, that do not survey the evolution of the religious phenomenon, that are not concerned with the way in which communists think, that do not take a firm stand against those that take part in obscurantist, mystical rituals. This explains the fact that even after individual talks with party members, still there were found some who were active in various churches and worship centers, cases which were solved only when county party committees stepped in. Our party's position on this matter must be perfectly clear. Says Nicolae Ceausescu in his Report to the enlarged plenary session of the Central Committee: "Respect for and guarantee of religious freedom must not be understood as acceptance by communists of idealistic religious concepts on the world.... They cannot accept the theories on the existence of supernatural forces that steered or still are steering the universe. This all the more so today, when basic sciences, such as chemistry, physics, biology, genetics and others have provided new answers to the problems of knowledge of the universe and of the development, of the materiality of the world. In this context, it is all the more ununderstandable that it is still possible for some retrograde, mystical concepts to appear in or even be endorsed by some -- and, unfortunately, even communists.

Of course, criticizable are the comfortable posture of nonintervention and the extremely harmful political indefferentism of some party and state officials who, by not making the effort to survey the real status of the religious phenomenon under their jurisdiction, limit themselves to assert totally complacently that in this regard "they do not have any problem." The flimsiness of this mental attitude clearly emerges from the fact that this attitude serves as a backdrop for the free development of the persistent activities of some religious denominations and sects which

draw into their orbits even some party members, who flirt with mystical practices and rituals -- manifestations against which not always a firm, combative stand is taken.

There is a very great need for party organs and organizations to take an intransigent, offensive stand against the attempts -- which sometimes are open and other times, crafty, subtle -- of some denominations to make new proselytes, often going beyond the legal boundaries, prescribed in their rules of procedure. Moreover, as pointed out by the party secretary general at the enlarged plenary session of the CC of the RCP held last June, they must expose "the mystical activity of some religious sects used as tools in the hands of reactionary, imperialist circles, of some fascist circles, of some crooks that want to divert mankind from the basic issues of the world today, to use this avenue for diversion, for espionage against other states."

The experience of some party organs highlights as very efficient in this regard the open debate and exposure in working people's collectives of the antihuman practices used by some religious sects and groups, of the actual reprisals to which they resort against those adepts of theirs who try to extricate themselves from their nets (deprivation of medical assistance, starvation, physical torture), by making use of the concrete cases detected in the county's localities. By and large, the need is felt for the party organs and organizations to take a firmer stand against those manifestations of some religious sects that spell a danger to society, including: on certain days, keeping their adepts away from work and their children away from school, rejection of qualified medical care, refusal to fulfill basic social duties and the like, the obviously mercantile concerns of a part of the advocates and leaders of denominations and sects, and so forth.

Examination of the way in which the aheistic education of young people is developing also points out some by no means negligible deficiencies. For instance, in some schools in Neamt County -- but the phenomenon is far more widely spread -- for a number of educational subjects (mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology), some teachers do not correspondingly use the philosophical conclusions which emanate from the materialistic-scientific interpretation of the new scientific advances, and some teachers do not concern themselves with close acquaintance with their students, with the way of thinking of their students and of their families, they do not survey the status of religiosity of the student collectives and do not take corresponding action.

Of course, more attention must be paid to the way in which local party and state organs help to resolve, certainly, legally, some socioeconomic problems of citizens, as practice proves that religious sects sometimes take advantage of deficiencies that exist in this area and influence, in their favor, the beliefs and attitudes of some people.

The multitude and complexity of the problems involved in the scientific, convincing combating of mysticism and obscurantism today require party organs and organizations to frontally, knowingly and systematically approach this phenomenon and act persistently, inspired by the strong, engaging revolutionary spirit which so forcefully emanates from Nicolae Ceausescu's Report to the enlarged plenary session of the Central Committee held early last June -- a program-document of a high theoretical and practical value, which is now being debated by the party, by all our people.

11710
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SHORTCOMINGS IN PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN ECONOMY

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Aug 82 pp 47-50

[Article by Ana Muresan, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee of the CC of the RCP, chairman of the National Council of Women]

[Text] The ample response to the Report by Nicolae Ceausescu to the enlarged plenary session of the CC of RCP held on 1-2 June 1982, a program document of outstanding theoretical and practical importance for the awareness of all our people, has powerfully impacted on the activity of women's organizations. The wealth of unique ideas and theses, the revolutionary boldness, the newly formulated requirements, and the complex tasks which emanate from this exceptional analysis of the development of our socialist society, of the contemporary world, open to women's committees and commissions a broad field of activity, and the unifying factor, the dynamizing factor of their creative energies is the firm resolve to enhance their share in materializing the significant guidelines and directives of the party secretary general, the complex goals of the second year of this five-year plan.

Organization, Guidance Based on Efficiency

In the context of this sociopolitical climate, open to revolutionary renewals in all areas, a greater input also is expected from women's organizations into resolving the complex problems facing the collectives of working people, which should symbolize their effort to upgrade the style and methods of work and the striving for a new quality.

Women's organizations benefit by a special Program of politico-organizational and sociocultural measures adopted by the party leadership on increased women's participation in the country's socioeconomic life during the 1981-1985 period and which mirrors the constant concern, the special attention paid to the role of women in the building of the multilaterally developed socialist society, by the highly competent and permannent guidance of Elena Ceausescu who coordinates the activity of the National Council of Women. Consequently, these organizations have a clear perspective of their activity, of the main directions toward which their efforts must converge. We are aware of the great demands that face the women's movement and that is why we exert all our efforts to ensure implementation in response to the trust given us.

For the purpose of making full use of the very favorable conditions for a greater participation of women's committees and commissions in resolving problems and qualitatively enhancing their activities, a recent plenary session of the National Council of Women worked out a set of measures that pointed out the great availabilities for the involvement of all the action potential of women's organizations. The requirement for proceeding to the reassessment, rethinking and upgrading of the methods of formulation, organization and guidance of all the activity was one of the paramount conclusions. Consequently, projects were structured for the uniform training of chairmen and vice chairmen of women's committees and commissions, the assignment of the members of the National Council of Women was upgraded, in light of economic priorities and the major goals that must be predominantly pursued, the actives with which women's organizations work were expanded, and groups of civic instructors were established. Hence, conditions were created for implementing one of the expressly given directives by the party leadership to women's organizations, specifically of participating in completion of the new socioeconomic facilities.

Aiming to materialize this requirement, as early as when the programs were formulated we conducted broad surveys, had consultations with women's actives to exactly establish our own projects in primary economic areas -- saving resources of raw materials and energy, ensuring the application of the principles of territorial self-management and self-supply, boosting animal and plant output. The need for increasing women's input into collecting, recovering, reconditioning and returning reusable material resources to the production flow, for instance, prompted us to pledge, based on our own efforts, to help recover 26,000 t of metal, 2,000 t of paper, 35 million bottles and 11 million jars. For this purpose, in each county, action was taken to organize collectives, headed by members of the bureaus of women's county committees, that helped to identify the sources for recovery and specify the collection centers. Moreover, ample political-educational work was conducted in order to foster in the masses of women a marked thriftiness within the framework of wide-ranging drives focusing on the "Month of Tidiness," "Week of Beautifying Localities," with special measures being set forth for collection and recovery of material resources from people's households.

The way in which the implementation of this directive is ensured is mirrored in the competition of industriousness and thriftiness launched early this year by the call to emulation from the Hunedoara County Women's Committee, whose concrete goals spur women's municipal-administrative concerns, their ambition to author initiatives in an area which has multiple social implications.

A new approach, mandated by the defining characteristic of the current stage, the switch to intensive economic development, also involved one of the constant concerns of women's organizations -- better utilization of the female work force. It is not accidental that we have now placed greater emphasis on the quality of the work force, generating the harmonization of projects for recruitment and integration of women in the area of material production with those that focus on greater professional skills. A survey conducted by the National Council of Women showed that in many counties there are real availabilities for better utilization of the female work force. On this basis we decided that county women's organizations study, in conjunction with the other local factors, all the prospects for correction of the anomalies existing in various places and devise new approaches to the integration of the female work force.

A primordial matter involves the concern for a better and wiser vocational orientation of young women, in compliance with the needs of the county's economy. Because of the discrepancy between the number of young women trained in industrial and vocational lyceums and the capacity of absorption in various enterprises in the counties, an ever increasing number of graduates cannot be hired to use their training. For instance, in Dolj County, out of 70 graduates of the Chemistry Lyceum, only 30 were hired at the Craiova Chemical Combine. Similar situations exist in Bacau, Prahova and other counties. Hence, we may conclude that the finality of the surveys for tracking and integrating the female work force cannot be limited to the quantitative aspect. The women's committees and commissions are increasingly focusing on the qualitative aspect -- selection, ensuring of a differential assignment. Undoubtedly, the open problem involves initiating appropriate action to optimalize the utilization of the female work force. This involves raising skills to meet the requirements of technical and technological progress by planned and monitored activities. The sphere of initiative which this area provides to women's committees and commissions, however, is not well utilized. The tests conducted in this area often indicate the difficulty for some leaders in accepting to consider in the calculations for the substantiation of the plans to upgrade the work force also the participation of women, as they rather tend to resort to conservative approaches, which affect the quality of their training.

A great amount of resistance and inertia also is displayed in terms of concern for many jobs specific for women now held by men to be assigned to women. For instance, the consistent fight of the women's commission at the Craiova "Electroputere" Enterprise to help find adequate approaches to hiring women for 400 jobs until recently held by men is remarkable. However, there are counties where the female work force surplus is large but the women's committees and commissions did not even plan to participate in the identification of units, sections and facilities where women could find jobs which now are held by men.

It is a matter of a new outlook on efforts in this area and dovetailing with the new economic needs of the measures taken by women's organizations to assure local utilization of the resources of female work force in the small-scale industry, inclusive of work at home, specifically in handicrafts, where, as is known, women's organizations have special tasks. Actually, we already have some experience in the area of expansion of artisan production but we primarily ought to survey the efficiency of these activities, which should be based on capitalizing on local resources and traditions and should meet effective demand from the population and the foreign market. That is why we plan to organize, in conjunction with UCECOM [Central Union of Artisan Cooperatives] and CENTROCOOP [Central Union of Consumer Cooperatives], an exchange of experience in Arges County. The aim is to define the input of women's committees and commissions into the development of small-scale industry and work at home, into the utilization of local resources.

Moreover, we strive to promote a critical, discriminating review of their own activities also in county women's committees, helping them to revise the programs of measures in light of the important tasks and instructions formulated by Nicolae Ceausescu at the plenary sessions of the CC of the RCP and at the work conferences at the CC and supplement them.

Initiative, Strictness in All Areas

It is true that the ensuring of a work style that generates high efficiency and centers creative efforts on more complex matters involves encompassing of all areas, of all categories of women. Any tendency toward a unilateral outlook on concerns, toward disregarding the importance of one area or another, if not eliminated promptly may cancel the efforts directed toward the qualitative growth of the entire activity. From this angle, women's organizations have resources whose utilization would certainly result in greater efficiency.

Here is one of many examples. A corollary and resultant of the qualitative changes that are taking place in the social status of women, their participation in the country's state and civic political life, in running society is one of the illustrative proofs of the road traversed. As a result of firm implementation of the directives given by the party leadership, personally by Nicolae Ceausescu, on promotion of women to executive positions, such duties were entrusted to a great number of able women, with real political, professional and ethical qualities. For instance, 370 women were promoted to the office of mayors of communes. How many training sessions for them, efforts for giving most qualified support in getting acquainted and especially in taking over the job were organized? How many meetings between them and members of the Executive Bureau of the National Council of Women took place for learning about their concerns and difficulties, for their getting close assistance and guidance, for discovering effective methods of work, positive experience and organizing a rapid transfer of this experience through popularization and exchange? These are questions to which the National Council of Women is trying to provide answers in the area of direct practice. Consequently the executive bureau has planned to organize zonal get-togethers with women who hold this position, with a marked character of exchange of experience, precisely to directly learn about their successes and also about their insuccesses, in what area they need most assistance and to give them this assistance.

Things are almost similar in terms of the situation of chairmen of women's commissions who also are vice chairmen of councils of working people in enterprises. In this context, some women's committees like the Bucharest Municipal committee had special undertakings for their training, organized in enterprises where women's commissions, through the say of the chairmen, played an active role in bringing up women's specific matters for discussion by councils of working people, in resolving problems that involved the entire collective. Of course, such undertakings are both useful and relevant. However, there are chairmen of women's commissions that also are vice chairmen of councils of working people whose presence is rather honorary in these bodies of collective leadership. For instance, they do not thoroughly prepare to take the floor during discussions, they do not have consultations with women, not even with the members of the commission, on the matters on the agenda of the council of working people, so that they may put forward specific suggestions, and they do not develop a work style in promptly informing the women after the meetings about the contents of the decisions and the prospects for themselves to participate in their implementation. Consequently, certain councils of working people do not assign the due role to women's concerns and this results in their valuable resources not being fully utilized.

Very clear is the relevance in ensuring the uniform training of these women for acquainting themselves with and absorbing the economic laws, the methods of managing

economic activity, the principles of the new economic-financial mechanism, of worker's self-administration and financial self-management, the role and duties of chairmen of women's commissions who also are vice chairmen of councils of working people. Aware as it is of the fact that this is a pressing need for the better utilization of the democratic setting created, for the enhancement of the women's input into management, the Executive Bureau of the National Council of Women proceeded to studying the experience gained in economic units, to working out measures to promote, concurently with ensuring thorough training, also broad exchanges of experience on the methods used by women that hold these dual positions for drawing all women workers, engineers and technicians into resolving the problems that underlie exemplary fulfillment of the plan, for assisting those that do not complete their output rates, provide rejects or exceed relative consumption rates for raw materials and supplies, energy and fuel. One of these endeavors involves the exchange of experience organized with women's committees and commissions that are active in the light industry, when new methods of work and initiatives were spotlighted.

In our view, the conference organized by the National Council of Women in Buzau County is a valuable undertaking which will reestablish an old pursuit -- sericulture -- enhancing the responsibility and initiative of women's committees and commissions. Assessing the experience gained by the county women's committee in conducting this activity, the women participants inspected the sericultural sector of the Robesti agricultural cooperative, in Pirscov Commune, and the Cislau sericultural complex, where experts and also women's committees and commissions described the methods used for the development of this agricultural subbranch.

Similarly, a study and inspection project involved 11 counties and focused on the concern of women's committees and commissions for mobilizing women in rural areas and districts for the smooth run of agricultural operations, raising of animals and fowls on private farms.

Of course, the range of our concerns in the area of upgrading the style and methods of work, enhancing responsibility and strictness is far broader. Life itself is rich and extremely dynamic. Constantly being in the center of actuality, devising best approaches to meeting new requirements, firmly implementing the directives and guidelines set forth by Nicolae Ceausescu are permanent tasks of women organizations, indispensable components of the efforts to increase the involvement and efficiency of women's participation in all fields.

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ROLE OF SCIENCE IN DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST AWARENESS

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 14, 20 Jul 82

/Article by Dr Simion Ghita: "Science and Awareness in Socialist Civilization"/

/Text/ Although the economic problems are highly urgent today, the theoretical, ideological and educational questions are becoming no less urgent. As Nicolae Ceausescu said in his speech at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee, that is explained by the interdependence of those problems and the need of close coordination between theoretical-ideological work and socioeconomic activity.

Since the new order is being built under the circumstances created by the progress of the technical-scientific revolution and by the international situation, which is characterized by perpetuation of the crisis of capitalist society and by manifestations of instability, theoretical-ideological work and study of the new problems are becoming particularly important in social management and in substantiating the decisions upon which the success of socialist construction depends.

In the wide range of problems treated in Nicolae Ceausescu's speech, we intend to analyze some aspects of the relationship between science and awareness, which has been too little discussed by researchers although it is a major problem for all contemporary civilization and of course it takes different forms under socialism too. The great, even controlling role of science in knowledge of the world and in the progress of material civilization is well known, but the role it plays in contemporary culture, in socialist awareness and in formation of the new man is not known well enough.

That role is sometimes underrated by those who regard science merely as a tool of man that can be manipulated externally regardless of the nature and structure of the consciousness of those who manipulate it. This view, which tends essentially to restrict culture and social consciousness to the social and humanistic disciplines, ultimately overlooks the effectiveness of the practical effort to build socialism, which effectiveness depends upon the introduction of science into the consciousness and that of the scientific spirit into the workers' way of thinking. Replacing the old false or mystical conceptions with the

scientific ones requires changing the whole consciousness, not just the ideas and thoughts but the way of thinking itself. Ignoring the introduction of science into the consciousness in order not to change the thoughts alone, which are created or assimilated by consciousnesses of the same nature and structure, impairs the effectiveness of the effort to disseminate the scientific concepts and leaves the consciousness unarmed against the effort to disseminate mystical and religious beliefs, which is cleverly conducted by psychological and pedagogical methods.

But there is a tendency, especially on the part of those with an exclusively scientific or technical education, to see only the practical and theoretical value of science in contemporary society. The role of the revolutionary social and philosophical concepts is recognized in theory but in practice, under the obsession with direct effectiveness, this trend overlooks the need of integrating the efficient and inventive scientific spirit in socialist awareness and gives free rein to the technocratic ideology and to cultivation of science uncontrolled by awareness.

Overlooking the relationship between science and awareness in socialist civilization can cause ideological confusion. Nicolae Ceausescu's speech contributed a necessary clarification by pointing out the importance of science and knowledge to development of socialist awareness and the need of supplementing the political-ideological level with a higher level of knowledge and professional and technical-scientific training of the communists and all workers.

Modern science has changed the conditions of our existence before the world and considerably modified people's awareness and their way of thinking and behaving. Science, which is becoming a vast force so profoundly affecting the fate of mankind and tending to escape control, is essentially an instrument of knowledge and of mastery of nature, and it must itself be known and mastered.* It must be developed as far as possible in order to keep improving the human condition, but on the other hand it must be guided and mastered by people in order to prevent its use against people. And the guide of science, as of all human works and actions, can only be awareness. But awareness itself must be developed in order to master such a vast force. Science and awareness must be studied in relation to each other, because only such an alliance can guarantee the peoples' progress and future security.

The crisis in the relationship between science and awareness, between humanistic culture and technical civilization, is one of the great problems of contemporary civilization. The Marxist scholars have often evaded this problem or solved it simplistically or even erroneously. But Marxist philosophy makes it possible to resolve this difficult and serious problem. And to understand and resolve it correctly we must see how that crisis developed in the transition from traditional philosophical science to modern science and technology.

There was harmony between science and awareness in the traditional culture because science, being integrated in philosophy, was contemplative like art and religion. Contemporary science was derived from philosophy, by which it is connected with awareness, and allied with technology, with the art of manipulating physical phenomena. The great progress in knowledge and mastery of nature is

*We mean the natural sciences, those particularly involved in the scientific and technical revolution in this century.

due to that fact. But science also had some "secondary effects," some great structural disturbances in awareness and culture. As a product of an active approach to existence, contemporary science is no longer organically integrated in awareness and seems foreign to humanistic culture. Science and technology are oriented toward knowledge of natural phenomena in order to manipulate and master them, and they are intended solely to act upon nature and to provide for economic progress through exploitation of their resources, remaining ultimately indifferent to any ideal developed by awareness.

The appearance of modern science, derived from philosophy and allied with technology, caused a crisis in awareness, culture and civilization that has been felt more intensively in this century. The crisis is both intellectual and social. On the intellectual level, the crisis in awareness (not in science as many philosophers think) takes the form of the conflict between scientism and humanism. Each of the two branches of culture generated its own philosophy, which tends to dominate the entire awareness and the entire culture. As I said, awareness synthesizes man's knowledge of the world and his projection, orientation and progress in the world. Referring solely to the object and to nature, science and philosophy are based upon awareness but cannot organize it because they express only knowledge, the reflection of the world in awareness, and ignore man with his intellectual and social activity and the projection of man in the world through the creative works of culture and civilization. Neither can philosophy based solely upon humanistic culture provide for organization of contemporary man's awareness because it ignores reality and rejects the exact sciences and contemporary technical civilization. Philosophy alone can undertake the task of organizing awareness and contemporary culture as a whole in a rational way, and not a one-sided philosophy based upon science or humanistic culture alone, but a comprehensive philosophy that will harmoniously synthesize scientific knowledge of the world with man's progress in the world through creation of material and cultural values.

The awareness crisis caused by contemporary science on the social level of human action particularly involves the relationship between the end and the means, between wisdom and power.

Contemporary science, pursuing man's greater material and economic power, is a science of the means. It ignores the social and moral ideals developed by awareness. Maximum development of contemporary science meant maximum development of the means, leaving behind human awareness, the creator of ideals, which has always guided man in his struggle for survival and progress. Science enabled man to free himself from nature and divinity and he took his fate in his own hands. But that requires a corresponding development of awareness and cultivation of the sense of responsibility for the fate of all mankind in using that vast power that is science.

In our time the problem has arisen of man's security and his responsibility for the fate of humanity threatened with a nuclear war. Of course the idea that humanity can be destroyed by man could not arise at a time when man's power to know and master nature and society was very limited. A discrepancy between power and wisdom is increasingly clear in our era. Thirsting for power to meet his material needs, contemporary man has developed science and technology more rapidly and left wisdom in second rank, considering it a luxury or of secondary

importance. And now that science and technology have enlarged man's power to the dimensions of the entire planet, it is necessary for his awareness to grow correspondingly so that all mankind's interests and aspirations may be integrated in it, and it is necessary to form an anthropological awareness.

Today people are beginning to realize that power also requires responsibility for all mankind's fate and that power-science must be subordinated to wisdom-awareness. And if it is to control such a vast power as science and successfully oppose the social forces pursuing through science only their narrow, group, class or national interests and threatening world peace, the new athropological awareness pursuing all humanity's security and aspirations must itself become a vast social force rallying all peace-loving classes and peoples. The struggle for peace is not a cause of any party or any people but a cause of all mankind in its struggle for security and progress. That is why the Romanian people and party are making such an enormous effort to safeguard peace. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "The main problem today is that of peace or war. The international situation has reached such a peak of discord that we must make every effort to stop this ridiculous course toward war, to stop the armaments race, and to revive the policy of detente."

The instability and insecurity that have come about in this century are exploited by the followers of religious humanism, who seek the solution to the crisis in reverting to belief in God, that is to the loss of the autonomy of man, who would be unable to secure his destiny himself. They interpret the present uncertainty and instability as indicative of "a crisis of faith in man's absolute autonomy" celebrated by science. For example G. Santinello wrote that "The historical failures that culminated in the great wars and social conflicts that humanit has suffered or is suffering despite the triumphs of science and technology make conterporary man aware of the falsity of any claimed absolute humanism."

But the direction of mankind's historical development shows us that the solution to the present crisis is not to be and no longer can be sought in abandonment of man's autonomy in favor of divinity but, on the contrary, in further progress in the direction of the autonomy and maturity of man, or rather of the peoples, who are becoming conscious of their interests and power and will by their efforts make the balance of power incline in favor of wisdom and peace.

But this struggle must not be an ephemeral one determined by discord in the international situation at any given point, but a constant effort to shift the course of events in the direction of peace and collaboration to eliminate the possibility of a war and use of science for destructive purposes. There will be no less confidence in science but greater confidence in man's awareness and wisdom and his ability to see that the science of means is controlled and guided by awareness of human purposes, aspirations and ideals.

Accordingly, science must be guided by awareness if it is not to be used against man and for destructive purposes in general. It must be developed and used as far as possible because it is the light and hope of mankind. First we mention use of the results of science to improve people's material conditions. Those matters are very clear and we shall not dwell on them any further. But we must discuss the introduction of science into people's awareness, thought and

behavior since the decisive part is well known that science plays in explaining the world and eliminating false theories and concepts.

The effort to disseminate scientific knowledge and theories among the masses has been a regular objective in building socialist society in Romania. But to enhance their power of conviction scientific theories must be fully in philosophy, which is more closely related to awareness, because it provides a general explanation of the world without ignoring man as the purely scientific theories do. And dialectical and historical materialism closely relates the explanation of the world to its reform and to man's needs and aspirations. In combatting the mystical conceptions that resort to mysterious or supernatural forces, greater emphasis will be placed upon explanation of the origin of the world (of nature and society), upon which man's destiny depends. As Nicolae Ceausescu said at the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of 1-? June, "Using the advances of science and dialectical and historical materialist philosophy, we must arm communists and workers by conducting an extensive program for scientific interpretation of the origin of the world, society and the laws that govern the universe."

But in combatting mystical and religious conceptions mere dissemination of knowledge is not enough, because those conceptions structure the entire awareness and refer primarily to good and bad and secondarily to true and false. To eliminate them the whole awareness must be changed and it differs from that of the person who has introduced science into his awareness. The awareness of the person disseminating science is quite different from that of those dominated by mystical or religious beliefs. The "transmitter" is on a different wavelength than the "receiver" and therefore scientific ideas cannot be disseminated from one to another as scientific ideas and theories are passed from professor to student,who have the same kind of knowledge. In order to eliminate mystical and religious conceptions, which are deeply rooted in the awareness, the latter must be entirely changed. And this change requires knowledge of the structure, evolution and operational laws of the awareness. Just as the theoretical and technical sciences of matter are needed to transform things, theoretical and applied sciences like psychology, pedagogy, sociology etc. are needed to transform the awareness. We think only a combined action of all those disciplines enhances the effectiveness of the act of materialist indoctrination.

Another lesson that can be learned from knowledge of the relationship between science and awareness is that religion cannot be replaced by science alone, because science covers only a part of awareness and is solely concerned with truth, while religion structures the entire awareness, bases other values upon it (the good) and can also integrate the beautiful, as it happened in medieval culture, dominated by religion. With their limited, one-sided interpretation of awareness, the scientists try to reduce it to a science with which they will replace religion. Other cultivated persons consider art more capable of replacing religion because it refers to artistic feeling, which is more intimately related to awareness and involves thought. Some ethicists feel that morality should replace religion becaused it is focused upon the supreme human value, the good. But in general they view the good in itself, in the abstract and divorced from real life and the economic, social, political and even cultural conditions (science, philosophy, art) that essentially determine the nature of awareness. In contemporary civilization only philosophy (which synthesizes the reflection of the world in awareness with man's aspirations to improve his material living

conditions and with the social, moral and artistic ideals) can organize the entire awareness and consequently replace religion. To be sure it can do that only with the aid of the natural and social sciences, morality and art. Yet science plays a vital part in all these both on the theoretical level of explanation of the world and on the practical level of man's activity in the world.

While matters are clear on the theoretical level and full use is made of science to explain the world, the situation is unsatisfactory on the practical level of reform of the active and especially the occupational awareness. There the main problem is to introduce the scientific spirit into the awareness of all categories of workers to make their occupational activity as efficient as possible.

Despite the vital role of science in knowledge of the world and social progress, the scientific spirit is still confined to the circle of specialist. Most people, even some managers of institutions or enterprises, act empirically on the basis of common sense and intuition, feelings and prejudices, and imagination and improvisation. This situation cannot be considered satisfactory because socio-economic development depends to the greatest extent upon scientific knowledge and the general method basic to the action of the workers in a given society. The scientific spirit must come down from the ivory tower of the specialist to people's social and occupational activity.

Of course it cannot be said that the common man does not appreciate the value of science. On the contrary, he has the greatest respect for it and considers it absolute and all-powerful. But for the very reason that he regards it as absolute he considers it something that is beyond him and overwhelms him with its power, a matter for the specialists with the gift of using and dominating that power.

On the other hand the ordinary man expects too much of science. Not knowing the true value of science, he sees it as an unlimited force in the hands of scientists and governments and thinks he has nothing to do in regard to it but ask the state for the benefits that accrue from the blessings of all-powerful science. The more powerful the ordinary man thinks science is, the more estranged from it he feels, the more overwhelmed by its power, and the more impotent to use it as a tool in his occupational and social activities. Therefore we think that along with their effort to disseminate and assimilate scientific knowledge, the schools and society should form the conviction in the citizens' awareness that science is a tool made by man to improve his condition in the world, that this tool is not perfect but perfectible, that it has produced many great accomplishments but it still has many shortcomings, that it abounds in certainties but also doubts, and that science is the product of human experience and by its nature and spirit it can be used by all.

In socialist society introduction of science in the individual and social awareness in order to explain and change the world is a program of action. In socialist construction in Romania full use is made of science in expediting all-around economic progress as well as in changing awareness and in scientific-materialist education of the workers. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "Education of the new man and formation of socialist awareness and the advanced, scientific conception of the world and life are main objectives of construction of the fully developed socialist society and the advance toward communism that the PCR will continue to emphasize in the future."

introduction of science and the scientific spirit in the awareness of all categories of workers is not reflected solely on the levels of thought and explanation of the world, but to an increasing extent on the level of action as well, where it enhances the efficiency of their occupational activity. We must acknowledge that science has been insufficiently exploited in this respect, and the need of more effective work in all activities necessitates greater efforts so that all workers will master the scientific methods and knowledge in their fields. In construction of the fully developed socialist society professional competence is the guarantee of success in all activities from industry and agriculture to education and instruction. Moreover professional competence and the scientific spirit are basic characteristics of modern scientific-technical civilization.

But professional training and competence are not enough to secure fulfillment of the work plans. That requires professional awareness as well, the moral force that implements and activates professional training and competence. In the socialist system professional awareness is closely related to social awareness, but that fact has not always been duly understood. If being a revolutionary and patriot means to make every effort to contribute as much as possible to socialist construction in Romania, then introduction of the scientific spirit and professional competence and awareness into our work to make it more effective is an important aspect of socialist, revolutionary awareness.

In the present stage of the socialist revolution, which is a constructive stage, political awareness is closely involved with professional awareness. Moreover the party leadership's heavy emphasis on more effective work to fulfill the production tasks necessarily requires introduction of the scientific spirit and professional competence into socialist awareness.

There is no crisis in the relationship of science to society in socialist society, but it is no less true that much remains to be done to introduce science into awareness and to establish a close tie between political and professional awareness and between the revolutionary ideology and the effectiveness of productive and creative work.

But the problem is much more far-reaching and involves highly varied areas and levels of exploitation of science through its more intensive introduction in general social awareness. By achieving unity between education, research and production solid bridges were built for development of science through research, education and its introduction into education and material production. To that end a series of measures were taken to improve the organization and management of the educational and research institutions. For the continuation of this process and a better adjustment of the institutions and general social education to the demands of development of contemporary civilization dominated by the scientific-technical revolution, we think by expanding its interdisciplinary activity the university could play a more active part in shifting science to the general framework of society and providing the public with the means to an understanding of science. Experience tells us we need a broadening of the specialists' (scientists and engineers) social awareness through better knowledge of the social sciences and humanities and, on the other hand, a suitable scientific indoctrination of the students of the social sciences and humanities through study of scientific thought. Now more than ever we must give the scientists and engineers an understanding of the social aspect of their activity and the

students and representatives of the social sciences and humanities an understanding of the realities and implications of the current scientific and technical problems. The man of socialist society cannot be just a good specialist or a "technocrat." He must also be a man with a high level of awareness and a social militant for the ideals of the new order.

The theory and practice of construction of the new order and the revolutionary conception of the working class, in the light of which the whole society is governed, provide fundamental solutions and the objective conditions for a realistic, creative and effective policy for exploitation and development of science and for solution of the problems socialist society presents concerning formation and development of the workers' advanced revolutionary awareness and the growth of the new socialist culture. And so if science is integrated in socialist awareness it will take its proper place and role in a scientifically organized society imbued with a noble and real humanism.

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PARTY TEACHINGS ON IDEOLOGY STRESSED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 14, 20 Jul 82 pp 5-7

/Article by Nicolae Kallos: "The RCP's Uniform Theoretical and Ideological Conception of the World and Life"/

/Text/ Nicolae Ceausescu's speech at the Expanded Plenum of the Central Committee in June presents a broad program of study and activity for the Romanian people as a whole and for all those at work in the ideological, political and educational field. The party secretary general's views on the results, shortcomings and objectives in various fields also provide theoretical and methodological standards for analyzing the phenomena and processes in present-day Romanian society.

The uniform theoretical and ideological conception of the world and life is one of the main points in the RCP secretary general's speech, and it has many far-reaching practical and theoretical implications. The main ideas on the subject have to do with the fact that by building a society of social and national equality the socialist and especially the communist orders make it possible to form and promote a uniform theoretical and ideological conception of the world and life. The favorable material and social conditions provide only the possibility of forming and developing such a uniform conception. It is implemented, as it was said at the Expanded Plenum, "through socioeconomic development and the revolutionary party's theoretical-ideological effort to eliminate the old conditions as well as theoretical and ideological conceptions that were developed in the course of several social systems. The struggle against the old conceptions of the world and life and assertion of the dialectical-materialist revolutionary conception are a lengthy process. The confrontation between the old and the new does not end with the formation and development of the uniform conception. The latter is not and never will be immutable but on the contrary is constantly changing and developing in step with the general social development and the level of scientific knowledge.

Promotion of a uniform theoretical and ideological conception of the world and life does not mean any intellectual standardization or unquestioning acceptance of any given principle. The uniformity of the general theoretical and ideological conception permits and even requires a great diversity of intellectual phenomena and processes as well as constant confrontation of ideas. Diversity is

not to be confused with tolerance of ideas or attitudes foreign to the ideals of Romanian socialist society, and the conflict of ideas must be based "upon uniform production relations and development of science, culture and human knowledge, which will constantly reveal more and more new ways of improving social existence and relations." In theory and ideology as well as social procedure "We must replace all that is old and outmoded with the new and take purposeful steps toward social renovation."

One of the first questions to confront the analyst of these ideas is, what is meant by the "uniform theoretical and ideological conception of the world and life"? The term unquestionably connotes "Weltanschauung" and consequently philosophy. Marxist philosophy and dialectical and historical materialism actually provide a uniform general conception of the world and life. I do not consider it superfluous to repeat and stress that statement because the attacks of various descriptions, whether positivist, existentialist, structuralist or others, upon the "Weltanschauung" have been and are integral parts of the "deideologizing" trends and attempts directed against Marxist philosophy especially. It must be said that Romanian philosophical literature contains works, studies and essays on problems of the nature, subject and functions of philosophy that either overlook the quality of the philosophy's general conception of the world or expressly contest that quality. We must bear in mind that we have to deal with a unique reaction to some former situations when the interpretation of philosophy was limited to the general conception of the world or to "the most general laws of development of nature, society and thought." But a one-sided approach cannot be corrected by another one even if it is in the opposite direction. To deny or question that philosophy in general and Marxist philosophy in particular also affords a general conception of the world and life seems just as unjustified to me as reducing philosophy to "Weltanschauung" alone.

I think it is also important in another respect to stress the capacity of Marxist philosophy to provide a general conception of the world and life. Even those who question that function of philosophy will admit that people nevertheless have some general conception of the world and life. The question is, if not philosophy what intellectual field is going to provide that conception? There cannot be many alternative answers to that question. Either the "Weltanschauung" will be expelled from the theoretical fields to those of the common consciousness or it will be reserved for the only form of social consciousness outside of philosophy which, by virtue of its universal nature, can perform such a function, namely religion.

Another aspect of the problem might also be mentioned. Both the "Marxologists" and, in general, the critics of various schools acknowledge that dialectical and historical materialism offers a general conception of the world and its scientific character and its status as a philosophy are contested for that very reason. It could be the intention of some who question Marxist philosophy's role of providing a conception of the world to accentuate the scientific content of our philosophy, harking back to the old and unjustified opposition between ideology and science. Marxist philosophy is not a science but a philosophy, that is a philosophy based on science and integrally related to it, a philosophy wherein, in all its manifestations including the conception of the world, the scientific aspects are interrelated with the ideological-axiological ones in a uniform and organic whole.

In pointing out that dialectical and historical materialist philosophy also performs the function of providing a "Weltanschauung" in Romanian socialist society we do not mean that the concept of a "uniform theoretical and ideological conception of the world and life" is limited to philosophy in the speech at the expanded plenum. We think it follows from the characterizations made of the concept in the various contexts in which it is mentioned that it means something more, primarily a uniform socialist social consciousness and a uniform intellectual culture of socialist society wherein the political, legal, ethical, scientific, artistic and philosophical contents are integrated in a uniform whole. This socialist intellectual culture is pervaded throughout its various sectors and in its entirety by the RCP's revolutionary philosophy.

The intellectual culture objectifies the social consciousness. But the concept of a uniform theoretical and ideological conception of the world and life, in addition to the intellectual content materialized in works, also pertains to the the living consciousness of the people in socialist society. From this standpoint, the uniformity of the theoretical and ideological conception of the world and life means that the ideas, attitudes and conceptions incompatible with the Romanian ideology and ideals will disappear from people's consciousness.

Although the two above-mentioned aspects of the uniform theoretical and ideological conception of the world and life are closely correlated and interdependent, each of them has a relative autonomy nevertheless. In its second aspect the formation of the conception is clearly a highly complex, difficult and lengthy process.

Since its main characteristics are knowledge, communication, value and creation, any people's intellectual culture is of a cumulative nature. The comment that formation of the uniform theoretical and ideological conception of the world and life requires, among other things, elimination of the theoretical and ideological conceptions developed in the course of several social orders naturally refers to the backward conceptions, nonvalues or antivalues. The progressive, humanistic conceptions from the past have been taken over by socialist culture and still live and function as true values. The RCP's position on the receptiveness of the Romanian conception to the new advances of world culture and thought is also well known. But even without the intellectual heritage of the past and the assimilated contemporary values, the native intellectual output in our time is also highly diverse.

To confine myself to philosophy, although almost all the published works conform to dialectical and historical materialism (and even within that school of thought there has been a diversity of opinions), I shall mention that works of another stamp have also been written and go into circulation, including some of an idealist nature. How shall we relate to this phenomenon in the light of the point about formation of the uniform theoretical and ideological conception of the world?

As Nicolae Ceausescu said in his speech at the Expanded Plenum in June, "The dialectical law of the conflict of opposites and the contradictions also appear in socialism and will undoubtedly appear in one form or another in communist society too. Contradictions exist and will continue to appear in any society. They cannot be resolved by denying they exist but by studying and understanding their

causes and acting accordingly in a purposeful way to eliminate the former conditions and boldly promote the new." Nor do we have any reason to assume that under socialism the contradictions persist in or are confined to economic and social-political affairs while intellectual life remains free of them, just as in the existential field the contradictions are not due solely to the persistance of the "remnants" of the old conditions, but new contradictions appear and will appear in the future. Neither can the contradictions in the area of the social consciousness be viewed and treated as if they were entirely due to the survival of outmoded ideas and conceptions. Scientific, theoretical and ideological activity is very subtle and complex, nor we would be wrong in assuming that its determination by the socioeconomic resources of society defines it readily and unequivocally in all its aspects. For example, even if the social existence in Romanian socialist society does not favor the emergence of any schools of idealist thought, questionable ideas that will be proved more or less erroneous may arise at times in science and philosophy.

As we know the option for the dialectical and historical materialist conception prevents us from realizing that intellectual values can and actually do arise in other schools of thought. Whereas we are deeply convinced and have every reason to be convinced of the superiority of our conception over all others, we feel we must view and interpret that superiority with the same clear objectivity with which the RCP views and interprets the superiority of the socialist order. Just as the latter can and must be proved in practice by actual results, that is by struggle and labor and not by statements alone, the superiority of our philosophical conception must be proved and proved again by the created intellectual values. Obviously the adoption of dialectical and historical materialist positions does not automatically guarantee valid results just as acceptance of other schools of thought is not an insuperable obstacle to acquisition of intellectual values.

To be sure no one questions the need for all workers in philosophy to confirm the creative powers of our philosophy by their skill, talent, persistance and their results. Nevertheless neither the talent of one nor the ineptness of another can become standards for judging the school of thought they represent. The fact that mistakes were made in the past by trying to deprive Romanian intellectual culture of valuable creative works on grounds of their authors' idealist conception or political attitudes does not mean that in order to correct those errors it is also necessary to ignore the defects of the respective works and their authors, to say nothing of making virtues of them. The fact that in some circumstances declaring that a work or an author is not Marxist is equivalent to censure or denunciation does not mean that it is superfluous to point out the theoretical and methodological positions in analyzing the intellectual phenomena.

It is curious that Romanian journalists sometimes take stands against a confirmed dogmatism and then display no less vehement intolerance of opinions other than their own. I do not think that in acknowledging the existence of intellectual values in other schools of thought than our own we must concentrate solely upon what equates the different values and ignore any differences between them. On the contrary I am convinced that from the scientific and educational points of view it is not accentuating the outlines of our own positions but erasing them that is harmful. Of course the intellectuality of a community or a society is a synthesis and an open system, but it differs from a mere amalgam

of the various conceptual contents in its organization on the unifying background of an ideology. The uniform theoretical and ideological conception of the world and life is and will be formed and developed not in an ideological "melting pot" but by the increasingly strong, creative and effective promotion of the scientifically substantiated and consistently humanistic revolutionary ideas and ideals and by integration of all values compatible with that ideology and their filtration through its substance.

I consider the ideas in the speech at the expanded plenum that clearly and realistically idicate the appearance of confusion and questions in the minds of some about the future of the revolutionary effort to be of great importance to the orientation of ideological and educational work. The great complexity of the world situation and the difficulties that have arisen in some socialist countries have unquestionably contributed to this phenomenon. It is not the first time that doubts have appeared in difficult periods of history and some have been unable to keep up with the revolutionary struggle and have fallen back. Nicolae Ceausescu attributes such phenomena to the fact that the development of socialist society has been idealized at times, conveying the false impression that socialism can know no difficulties, that under socialism all problems are automatically solved, that there will be no more contradictions and victory will follow victory. That idyllic picture was negated by experience. It was proved that the advance toward socialism is like progress on an unbeaten path and not like a stroll on a boulevard, that there are many problems to solve and difficulties to overcome, and that there is need of resolve and enthusiasm, endurance and sacrifices, and skill and effort in order to achieve a superior, socialist civilization.

The students of intellectual phenomena are logically faced with the question whether this confusion and doubt is reflected in the intellectual output and if so in what way.

The problem is much too weighty and far-reaching for the present writer to analyze it now in depth. I too have encountered such phenomena in doing ideological and analytical work in various environments and was unable to form any opinions. In fact, I have had occasion to record isolated instances of indifference to or reservations about dialectical and historical materialist treatment of social and intellectual phenomena against a background of preference for nebulous views and departure from scientific accuracy. As a rule such manifestations are not based upon sound knowledge or any adequate theoretical training. I am not at all disinclined to discuss the validity or invalidity of any principles if the discussion is conducted knowledgeably. But in the instances I am referring to it is more a matter of a parti pris, combined with gaps and confusion in theoretical-scientific knowledge. Sometimes the attraction of some intellectual fashions is evident, but usually also without any in-depth knowledge of the respective works.

In a materialistic analysis like the one in the speech at the expanded plenum we will admit that certain inadequacies, difficulties and contradictions in the existential area can lead to doubt about the theory for which this reality is claimed if they are misunderstood and misinterpreted. And I think all this is aggravated by the circulation of ill-considered or confused ideas in the philosophical or pseudophilosophical press. I should like to note a phenomenon here

that may not be of the greatest importance but its frequency is surprising. It has almost become a "fashion" for some journalists to begin developing their ideas by combatting some alleged dogmatic stands on the matter. They write for example that it was a great mistake to take the criterion of class as the only one for evaluating the social and political phenomena, that it is a vulgarization to regard the economic factor as the sole and direct determinant of all intellectual phenomena, that it was damaging to reduce all social development to development of the productive forces, etc. Anyone familiar with ideological activity in the "dogmatic period" knows that those points in the quoted forms were not supported at all in the ideological literature of the past. These statements contribute to a twofold confusion. In the first place, by imputing points to that period that were not supported they distract attention from the real and consequently dangerous defects of dogmatism. In the second place, those points attributed to dogmatism actually were and still are maintained, but by whom? By the opponents and adversaries of our conception of the world. They conform to the caricature of dialectical and historical materialism drawn by those who are combatting it. At any rate, I do not think that procedure serves our philosophical propaganda.

The confusion combatted in Nicolae Ceausescu's speech at the plenum provides a good opportunity for infiltration of ideas and attitudes foreign to Romanian ideology. It would be an exaggeration to claim that the confusion caused by certain difficulties and complications is always the only explanation of the spread of unscientific, irrational and mystical attitudes. But it is certain that it has to do with that phenomenon, and the fact that "some backward, mystical ideas may still appear or may infect some, even communists, unfortunately."

The realistic nature of the ideas in the speech is apparent not only from its recognition and presentation of some undesirable situations and its detection of the causes that have been and are bringing them about but also from its indication of the ways and means of overcoming them. In the spirit of the speech as well as other party documents, we must make the most effective use of the great lever for social development that advanced socialist awareness constitutes, but we must also protect ourselves from the illuminist illusions. We try in vain to intervene primarily on the level of the consciousness where the solution of the problem primarily requires practical intervention on the existential level. Determination of the social consciousness by social existence unquestionably remains the fundamental principle of the Romanian conception of society and an incontestable fact of social reality. Both the confusion mentioned in the speech at the Expanded Plenum and the general phenomenon of the "lag of social consciousness behind social existence" are not to be explained solely in the area of the social consciousness but equally or even primarily by existential factors. The same is true of the ways of eliminating the lag of social consciousness. We think the principle of transforming the uniform theoretical and ideological conception of the world and life from a possibility to a reality is illustrative of this interpretation of the problems. Both "socioeconomic development" (the existential area) and "the revolutionary party's theoretical-ideological activity" (intellectual area) are involved, as well as both "elimination of the former conditions" (existential area) and elimination of backward theoretical and ideological conceptions (intellectual area).

We feel Nicolae Ceausescu's conception of socialism as an economic and social-political system and as an ideal is of the greatest importance in this

connection. The purport and invalidity of the anticommunist attacks upon socialism are analyzed in depth in the speech, as well as the groundless, tendentious and harmful nature of some theories that question the validity or desirability of a given country's path of socialist development. The attempt is made to draw conclusions from some difficulties and certain events in some socialist countries about the so-called crisis of socialism and its rejection as a viable alternative to the societies based on exploitation and oppression of the masses.

It is true that a number of errors and abuses have been committed in socialist construction, Romania included, alongside the great successes. They were discussed and debated in Romania at the time of the Ninth Party Congress and the appropriate conclusions were drawn. The difficulties that arise in a given socialist country "are not caused by socialism or too much socialism but by deviations, errors and violation of some of the fundamental principles of scientific socialism or by disregard of general laws or the particular realities in a given country, and they are accordingly due to failure to carry out the socialist principles consistently." Four years ago, in his speech to the key party and state activists, the party secretary general pointed out that the superiority of socialism is not proved by declarations but by the way the economic and social problems of people's lives and activities are resolved. In his speech in June 1982 he pointed out that the socialist countries' great achievements within a brief period are confirmed by scientific analysis, "demonstrating the superiority of socialism in practice as the only system that opens up the way for mankind to end social and national inequalities and to inaugurate social and national justice."

As it says in the speech, along with a widespread, intensive and competent practical effort to build the fully developed socialist society, "We must constantly maintain the firm belief in the high ideals of socialism and communism." In that connection I think Nicolae Ceausescu's concept of socialism in its true light of a socialism of humanity is particularly important to Romania's political and educational activity. This concept expresses in an inspired way the essential conclusion from the ideas about socialism set forth in the speech at the Expanded Plenum. To maintain and promote in all their brilliance the ideals of socialism in its true light and to guide, mobilize and arm the masses implementing that socialism with sound knowledge and firm convictions, that is indeed the primary objective of ideological and political-educational work. And perhaps I do not err in saying that the concept of socialism in its true light represents the political philosophy and the political aspect of the uniform theoretical and ideological conception of the world and life.

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